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Political Affairs

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Notion of Nuremberg Trial for CPSU Viewed

91UN1248A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 9 Mar 91 p 2

[Article by Mikhail Chulaki: "Our Differences?"]

[Text] LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA is a respectable communist newspaper which has been published since April 1918. For a long time, it was a party and soviet newspaper, as was the case everywhere, symbolizing a complete fusion of the state apparatus and the CPSU. However, last year it spun off (taking away in the process of division the entire share of the soviet). Since then, it has assumed a very perky tone, or has become "combative," as is the custom to put it in Bolshevik jargon.

So, a certain A. Verbin, senior instructor of the Textile Institute (it is to be surmised that he is from the former chair of the history of the CPSU) came out on 23 February of this year in the reform, purely Communist LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA against a certain **"popular" idea**—the idea of a trial of the CPSU, similar to the Nuremberg trial. The air is indeed thick with this idea; therefore, the concern of the newspaper is quite understandable.

This author of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA also resorts to an analogy. He communicates victoriously that at the Nuremberg trial "there was no trial at all of the National Socialist Party... They tried the political leaders of this party responsible for its specific actions, the Gestapo, the SS [Protective Squads], the SD [Security Service], the government of the Reich, the general staff, and the supreme command of the Wehrmacht. The latter two were not found to be criminal organizations in the course of the trial." Since the fascist party was not tried at Nuremberg, there are no grounds to hold a trial of the CPSU—the logic is impeccable.

Beautiful! Following such an analogy, there is nothing left to argue about. The oldest Communist newspaper, except for PRAVDA, draws a complete parallel between the party of Hitler and the party of Lenin-Stalin. Things which were difficult to even say yesterday are now becoming banal statements on the pages of a newspaper with 73 years of Bolshevik tenure.

A. Verbin writes: "The idea of a trial of the CPSU is absolutely unfounded because there can be no collective responsibility for the actions committed. Responsibility may only be personal." On many occasions I have happened to write the same thing: that there were no fewer honest people dedicated to the idea in the Fascist Party than there are in the Communist Party, and that these genuinely honest people either really knew nothing about Auschwitz and Dachau or truly believed that villains, enemies of the Fuehrer and the Reich, were locked up there.

To be sure, fate was not as kind to the NSDAP [National Socialist German Workers Party] as it was to the CPSU: A. Verbin recalls that the Fascist Party was dissolved by

a decision of the quadrilateral Control Council in October 1945, before the Nuremberg trial. This begs the following question: How far is LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA prepared to go in its analogies? Since the Nazi party was dissolved without a trial, by a decision of the Control Council, will the Communist newspaper approve of creating our own Control Council in our country, for example, an interrepublic one, which would be able to make a similar decision with regard to the CPSU? (Incidentally, this remarkable Control Council also adopted a law on punishing individuals guilty of war crimes against the world and humanity!). Or else, will it approve of submitting this issue directly to a referendum, since there is no Control Council: **"Do you agree to preserve the CPSU, the organizer and inspirer of all our troubles?"** We may be prompted to use this solution by an analogy with a referendum in Chile which put an end to the dictatorship of a military junta.

While drawing an analogy between the NSDAP and the CPSU, is LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA ready for an analogy between the SS-SD and the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]-KGB? If so (and how can this analogy be avoided?!), will it support the concept of a trial of the KGB? Incidentally, the SS, the SD, and even **the government** of the Third Reich were found in Nuremberg to be precisely criminal **organizations**; that is, the idea of collective responsibility was not at all alien to the legal thinking of the allies.

When I read articles similar to those of Verbin, I think with satisfaction: Are differences between us great indeed? Some people come upon a certain idea somewhat sooner, and others somewhat later. However, ideas inexorably possess the masses.

However, it is necessary to repeat them after all, at least until useful ideas **are translated into reality!** What use are they otherwise? They talked about it, and they abandoned it. For example, Cato Senior was not embarrassed. Everyone was sick of him, but he kept harping on it: "Carthage must be destroyed!" And Carthage **was** destroyed. Let us learn from Cato's optimism: "The CPSU must be dissolved!"—if it happens without a trial but by a decision of the Control Council, even LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA will not object.

To be sure, A. Verbin reports to the readers with genuine satisfaction that the law on banning the Nazi party was repealed in the FRG in 1958. Well, after a quarantine of 13 years this law may also be repealed in our country. The schedule would look as follows: in 1991—the ban, and in 2004—the authorization. This is an enticing analogy!

Ukraine's Kravchuk Cited on Center-Republic Powers

LD0804100991 Moscow World Service in English
0800 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] The chairman of the Ukrainian parliament, Leonid Kravchuk, has declared that when signing the

Union treaty it is necessary to clearly define the powers that the republics will delegate to the central authorities. This is to guarantee the real sovereignty proclaimed by the republics. The top official believes that the Union authorities must be in charge of defense and management of space exploration. The center and the republics may be sharing the responsibility for 25 spheres, including the economy, power supply system, transport, science, and social policy. Leonid Kravchuk believes that the republics must contribute to creating a state bank for their development in a renewed Union.

New Procedures for Obtaining Citizenship, Clemency Discussed

91UN1253A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Apr 91
Union Edition p 7

[Interview with G. Cheremnykh, chief of the department for questions of citizenship and pardons of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat, by IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Alimov; place and date not given; published under the rubric: "From Committee Sources: The Last Word—For the President"]

[Text] **There has been a change in the policy for considering petitions for pardons and applications for citizenship. Because of the adoption of amendments to the Constitution, the USSR president has now been given the authority to resolve these issues. Previously, as we know, they were considered by the Union Supreme Soviet Presidium after preliminary study of the materials by the corresponding commissions, which were made up of people's deputies. An IZVESTIYA correspondent speaks with the chief of the department for questions of citizenship and pardons of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat, G. Cheremnykh.**

[Cheremnykh] In questions of pardons the authority of the Union republics and, as it is now fashionable to call it, the Center have been fairly clearly distinguished. In the Union republics most of the pardons were granted by presidents or chairmen or else the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets. Their decisions were final. The USSR president, who has been given this right by the USSR Constitution, makes decisions about pardons, as a rule, regarding individuals convicted by USSR courts (the USSR Supreme Court and the military tribunals); individuals convicted in two or more Union republics in cases involving foreign citizens, and individuals sentenced to death in the Union republics. I emphasize—after their petition for pardon has been considered and rejected by the highest organs of state power or the highest officials of these republics.

Therefore of the 10,000 petitions for pardon that came to us, more than 7,000 were sent through the proper channels, if one may put it that way, to the Union republics, and of these only 360 (14 percent) were granted. The petitions for pardon from 2,204 who were convicted were denied because of the gravity of their crimes, the fact that not enough of the court sentence had

been served, or gross violations of the rules for behavior established in the incarceration facilities.

[Correspondent] Are there deputy commissions for considering these issues under the USSR president as there were under the Supreme Soviet Presidium?

[Cheremnykh] Yes. On instructions from the USSR president such a commission was created in November of last year. It included USSR people's deputies, eminent public figures, and legal experts in both theory and practice. The commission was headed by USSR Supreme Soviet member N. Glazkov. The commission conducts preliminary discussions of the petitions for pardon and makes its suggestions for consideration by the USSR president, who makes the final decision in the form of an ukase. Incidentally, the draft of the law being developed envisions legislation to reinforce this commission's activity, as has already been done for the Commission on Citizenship.

[Correspondent] Have there been cases where the president disagreed with the commission's proposal?

[Cheremnykh] Not so far. But there could be even in the near future. At the commission's last meeting, where it considered petitions for pardon of people sentenced to death, there were differences of opinion among the commission members on two cases. We are now awaiting the decision of the USSR president.

[Correspondent] Gennadiy Grigoryevich, recently the USSR Ministry of Justice removed the seal of secrecy from statistics regarding the death penalty in the republic. Are you prepared to reveal the "secrets" of your work?

[Cheremnykh] Yes, of course. I shall begin with what was never discussed in the mass media.

Last year we considered the petitions for the pardon of 226 individuals sentenced to the extreme form of punishment. Taking into account the young age and other mitigating circumstances, the lives of 18 of them were spared. In percentage terms this is somewhat more than in past years. The other 208 petitions from individuals sentenced to death were denied because of the special gravity of their crimes and the great danger they presented to the society. I think it is important to emphasize that all these individuals were convicted of premeditated murder, and almost every one of them had several victims. Many of them had committed other serious crimes as well: rapes, thefts, and muggings; seven of them belonged to gangs; 87 of them did not work, even though they were able-bodied; the majority of them had been convicted several times; and 53 of them had been declared by the courts to be dangerous recidivists. As of today, after the denial of the petition for pardon, almost all these people's sentences have been carried out.

[Correspondent] What, in your view, are the prospects for abolishing the death penalty as a form of criminal

punishment? After all, in the RSFSR Criminal Code and the codes of other Union republics there is mention of abolishing it in the future...

[Cheremnykh] You are quite right, there is such an entry, namely in Article 23 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, and it would be correct for this not to be included in the draft that is now being developed. It is nothing but an empty slogan. I think the death penalty will be retained in our country for the foreseeable future. Such is public opinion today, based on the realities of our existence. It is another matter that the limits of its application should be significantly narrowed through legislation, and judicial practice is already proceeding along this path.

[Correspondent] Is there any kind of normative act that regulates the granting of pardons?

[Cheremnykh] There is such an act. It is a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 1 September 1980. It is called "On the Policy for Granting Pardons." But now, on instructions of the USSR president, a draft of the corresponding law has been prepared. It clarifies the competence of the Union republics and the USSR and takes into account the provisions of the new Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics, whose preparation is being completed in the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Certain procedural issues have also been resolved. In the next few days the draft will be sent for study to the Union republics, law enforcement departments, and legal scholarship institutions, and after it is polished up it will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Correspondent] The duties of the department of which you are in charge includes questions of citizenship as well. What is the policy for working with these applications?

[Cheremnykh] There are no fundamental differences in the approaches to resolving issues of pardon and citizenship. There is the same thorough processing of the documents, preliminary consideration of applications for admission, exit, and loss of USSR citizenship by the Commission for Questions of USSR Citizenship headed by USSR People's Deputy B. Kartogin, and the adoption of the final decision by the USSR president.

In this area we are in close contact with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR Committee for State Security, other departments, our foreign diplomatic missions, the Councils of Ministers of the Union and autonomous republics, and directly with the Moscow Soviet and the Leningrad Soviet, with whose leaders, to tell the truth, we have managed to solve some very difficult and sometimes long-standing problems.

[Correspondent] Could you tell us how many were accepted for citizenship, for example, in 1990?

[Cheremnykh] Not many; only 107. Ten of them had previously lost it and it was restored at their request.

Additionally, the USSR president abolished the ukases adopted in previous years by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium concerning the deprivation of the citizenship of 22 people.

There were also cases in which the applications were denied. An application for admission to the USSR is denied in keeping with the law if the individual applying for it calls for violent overthrow or change of the state or social system, engages in activity that harms the security of the USSR, the maintenance of public order, or the health or morality of the population, promotes animosity or racial or ethnic exclusivity, or is involved in terrorist activity.

Moreover, the opinions of the governments of the Union and autonomous republics concerning the expediency of admitting one individual or another to USSR citizenship is also taken into account, including their opinion about the possibility of finding work, housing, and other amenities for the individual in our country. The position of the republics was taken into account when petitions for citizenship from 32 people were denied last year.

[Correspondent] How many people renounced their Soviet citizenship during last year?

[Cheremnykh] Many times more—6,668 people. And 6,500 of them are living abroad. They were mainly Germans who went to the FRG (5,700). There were 619 who married foreigners and left the USSR and about 100 were children born into these families. But there is another category of citizens. There were 239 citizens who initiated petitions to renounce their Soviet citizenship because of their dissatisfaction with the political system in our country, the living conditions, and the lack, in their opinion, of opportunities for creative and religious development.

[Correspondent] You said: "initiated petitions..." And how were they considered?

[Cheremnykh] All of these applications were granted. Although according to the Law "On USSR Citizenship," which was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet and went into effect 1 January 1991, there can also be negative decisions, particularly if the citizen has outstanding obligations to the state, relatives, or other citizens. These include unpaid debts, material harm for which no compensation has been made, support payments for children and elderly parents, and so forth, and also service in the Army.

Yes, service in the Army as well. Unfortunately, recently petitions for renouncing USSR citizenship have been submitted more and more frequently by young people with draft summons and they frequently give their refusal to serve in the Army as their reason for this step. And we must consider them. We make our decision on the basis of the law: If service in the Army is counter-indicated because of the person's health and he has been released from active military service, there is no issue, as they say. But if the medical commission for draftees does

not find such counterindications, he must first fulfill his military obligation to the state, and then his problems can be solved.

[Correspondent] Does renunciation of Soviet citizenship provide justification for departure from the country?

[Cheremnykh] I would make a distinction between departure, say, for business, a tourist or private trip, or work under contract, and departure for permanent residence abroad. For according to our law even an individual without citizenship has the right to obtain documents and take a regular trip. The renunciation of Soviet citizenship itself does not provide grounds for departure from the country for permanent residence. This requires an entry visa from the country where the individual intends to live. All these questions are regulated by the Law on the Legal Position of Foreign Citizens and Individuals Without Citizenship in the USSR, which went into effect on 1 January 1982.

[Correspondent] And the last question. What is the role of the commission of which you are in charge in questions of pardon and citizenship?

[Cheremnykh] We are responsible for the organizational and technical support of both commissions: for pardons and for questions of citizenship. And we must obtain all the necessary information and prepare the appropriate documents related to each petition for the members of the commissions and for the USSR president. There are mainly lawyers in the department and some are involved in diplomatic work. On the whole they are competent and highly professional specialists and—which is of considerable importance—they are decent people...

Impact of Citizenship Ruling on Migrants Viewed

PM1104143391 Vilnius EKHO LITVY 4 Apr 91 p 3

[Interview with "legal specialist" Professor I. Blishchenko by IAN correspondent A. Chernetsov—date, place of interview not stated; first paragraph is EKHO LITVY introduction: "Right To Choose Citizenship"]

[Text] The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee has ruled the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree: "On the Loss of Citizenship by Persons Emigrating from the USSR to Israel" to be against the Constitution, USSR laws, and international legal norms. In an interview with an IAN correspondent, prominent legal specialist Igor Blishchenko reflects on what provoked this decision.

[Blishchenko] According to the previous provision, a person leaving for Israel automatically lost Soviet citizenship. That is, from the very beginning the provision was of an illegal, unconstitutional nature. Unfortunately, it was applied in practice for a long time, which from a juridical viewpoint created a difficult situation for the person migrating to Israel and not wanting to renounce his Soviet citizenship, because he lost it regardless even if he wanted to keep it. Cases are known where people

were stripped of Soviet awards—which was completely arbitrary and had nothing to do with the USSR laws. Moreover they lost their pensions, which was also illegal.

What is more, the previous decree did not correspond to international legal norms and Soviet commitments under international law, in particular pacts on human rights and freedoms providing for the principle of freedom of movement and freedom to leave without any kind of discrimination whatsoever. But what in fact actually happened was that, under the provision, it was only persons leaving to take up permanent residence in Israel, and in no other country, who were deprived of their citizenship.

True, one of the reasons given for taking such a measure was that the State of Israel granted Jews citizenship as soon as they stepped onto its territory. A person who simply came on a visit or to work in the country was automatically declared a citizen of that state, even though perhaps he didn't want to be one. This situation lead to Jews' having dual obligations. The situation whereby a person has dual citizenship is, in my view, disagreeable both for the person himself and for the state. In such a case both have a dual responsibility toward each other. Wherever a person may be, he is obliged to maintain his loyalty to a particular state, and if he has dual citizenship his loyalties are split, which puts him in an ambiguous situation.

So we are trying to avoid this situation, and the USSR is not recognizing on its territory the citizenship of another state for its citizens. Agreements about choice of citizenship only exist between us and a number of neighboring states, but the possibility of concluding new agreements, among others with Israel, is not ruled out.

[Chernetsov] In what manner should the previous provision be reviewed?

[Blishchenko] It is not a question of elaborating a special procedure, but specifically the Visas and Registration Department—to which a person preparing to emigrate to Israel will apply—from now on leaves it up to the person in question to decide the question of his citizenship. Thus the Constitutional Oversight Committee acted without a legal basis when it adopted the decision about the illegality of depriving Soviet Jews of their citizenship.

[Chernetsov] With the adoption of this decision, will not the Arab states' anxiety about increased emigration from the USSR to Israel increase, all the more so if you take into account the possible consequences of the new law on entry and exit which is expected to be adopted?

[Blishchenko] I do not consider that this is a reason for the Arab states to be worried. Although, with the forthcoming adoption of the new law on procedure for exit from and entry to the USSR, you can expect an increase in the flow of emigrants to various countries. No one should limit the right to freedom of exit, but it is, of course, also not right to create a privileged situation for

those leaving specifically for Israel. It is necessary to give those very Soviet Jews the possibility to leave for any other country or to return to the USSR.

In my view, the settlement of Soviet citizens in the occupied territories in violation of the various assurances the Israeli authorities have given causes great anxiety in this matter. Tel Aviv is attempting to explain this as a voluntary expression of the people's free will, but this voluntary action should be agreed with the owners of that land—the Arab population of Palestine. This question can only be resolved through talks between the Soviet Union, Israel, and PLO.

Rules for Registering Statutes of Public Associations Listed

91UN1187A Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Mar 91 p 4

[Article by L. Karateyev, honored lawyer of the RSFSR, under the rubric: "TRUD Consultation, 27 March 91: How Statutes Are Registered"]

[Text] USSR Council of Ministers 9 January 1991 decree No. 21 affirmed the rules for examining statements for the registration of statutes of all-Union, interrepublic, and international public associations. The editorial board requested L. Karateyev, honored lawyer of the RSFSR, to comment on these rules.

According to Article 8 of the law on public associations, they are created at the initiative of no less than 10 citizens. Associations, except for political parties and trade unions, may also be created by other public associations. The initiators convene a constituent congress (or conference) or a general assembly which adopts the statute (or charter or other basic act) and forms governing organs.

Registration of the statutes of public organizations is performed by the USSR Ministry of Justice. The statutes of interrepublic associations are registered by the USSR Ministry of Justice or the corresponding organs of one of the Union republics at the wish of those who initiated the creation or the governing organs of the association. Statutes of international public associations functioning in the USSR are registered in the same fashion.

The statement for the registration of the statute must be submitted within one month after the statute is adopted. The statement is signed by the members of the governing organ of the public association. It must indicate the first and last name, patronymic, year of birth, permanent address, and telephone number of each of those who sign the statement, the name of the public association, the date of the adoption of the statute—year, month, and date—and the title of the organ that adopted the statute. The type of the association is also indicated: All-Union, interrepublic, or international; the basic goals of the chartered activities of the association are briefly enumerated as well as the name and location (address) of the governing organ of the public association. The statement must be appended with:

- the statute of the public association;
- the record of the constituent assembly (or conference) or of the general assembly (or congress) that adopted the statute;
- a draft on bank letterhead concerning a non-cash transfer from the account of payer to a credit institution or some other bank document affirming the receipt of money in payment of the registration fee;
- Other materials affirming the fulfillment of the requirements of Articles 6 and 8 of the USSR Law "On Public Associations." This primarily concerns information on those who initiated the creation of the association (for initiators who are citizens, first and last name, patronymic, year of birth, and residence are indicated; for public associations it is the name of the association, the address of the governing organ, and the date and place of registration of its statute). What if the association was created before the aforementioned law went into effect? In that event it is possible to present information concerning the initiators in the form of acts of state or public organs, copies of documents in archives, and letters of a business nature.

Other materials required include documents (records of assemblies, excerpts from rulings, etc.) on the presence of organizations of a given public association in Union republics (or in foreign states for international associations); and when registering parties and trade unions, lists are also needed of no less than 5,000 citizens who are members of these associations indicating for each his last and first name, patronymic, year of birth, and address.

Those submitting the statement will receive materials in written form concerning the decision that has been made—registration of the statute, refusal, or nonexamination of the statement—within two months after the materials are received.

Situations are also possible whereby a public association has already existed for a long time but its statute does not fully comply with the requirements of the law (Article 10). Can it be registered? Yes. But on condition that its noncompliance does not affect the goals and tasks of the association and the rights of its members and there is present a written obligation of the governing organ of the public association to introduce into the statute the necessary amendments and supplements at the next general assembly (or congress) of the association.

Upon a positive decision on the registration of the statute of a public association, those submitting the statement will be issued a certificate of registration and will be given a corresponding registration number under which the association will be entered in the register of all-Union, interrepublic, and international associations.

If a statement for registration of a public association is submitted without the presentation of the necessary documents, it will not be examined; once the necessary documents are received, it will be examined under the same procedure and within the same time period.

Baltics

Rural Union of Estonia Formed as New Party

91UN1281A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 26 Mar 91 p 3

[ETA report by F. Kaazik: "Rural Residents Have Their Own Party"]

[Text] A new party was created last weekend in Payde—the Rural Union of Estonia. A statute and program were adopted and a council was elected which expects to constitute the new party in approximately a month.

A member of the council of the Rural Union of Estonia and member of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet told an ETA correspondent:

"The Rural Union of Estonia also existed formerly as a public movement or association. Now it has been reformed into a party of rural residents. Those in rural areas who have various interests and who form a significant sector of society should also have political access in the form of a party. Many small parties have been formed as groups around certain leaders. The Rural Union is the opposite: In society there exists a certain ferment of ideas which should be organized and find leaders. The council which has been elected is called upon to constitute a party. We are not seeking quantity, but we believe that the numbers of its representatives will reach 4,000-5,000 people. Our task is not the performance of rituals but the concrete matters of rural residents.

"We would like to have representatives of the rural population enter each elected soviet right up to the supreme level. The goal is to see that the problems of the countryside get a wider hearing and are resolved. At present our ranks include 13 members of the Supreme Soviet."

Estonian People's Front Prepares for Elections

LD0704151791 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT
7 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallin, April 7 (TASS)—Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, deputy speaker Mariu Lauristin and chairman of the legal commission of the Estonian parliament Tinu Anton are the most probable candidates for a future Estonian parliament.

"The score" of potential candidates from the Estonian People's Front also includes parliament president Arnold Ruutel and speaker Ulo Nugis, who are not members of the People's Front Parliamentary Group.

The poll of deputies was sponsored by the committee for the elections of the Estonian People's Front. Its aim is to set up a group, out of which the third congress of the

Estonian People's Front will pick up candidates for an Estonian parliament. The congress is scheduled for mid-April.

New elections will be held if the present parliament is dissolved. Rumours about its dissolution have been circulating for several months. Differences between supporters for the restoration of Estonia's state independence can prevent parliaments dissolution.

The Congress of Estonian Citizens, advocating the legal and actual restoration of the pre-war Estonian republic, insists on elections not to a state but to an interim constituent parliament, in which "only citizens of the Estonian republic" should participate.

Their opponents, also advocating an independent Estonian state, are ready to agree to the so-called zero version and grant citizenship to all citizens permanently living in the republic at the time of adopting the law in order to preserve equilibrium in society.

"The score" of the People's Front does not include a single representative from the Independent Democrats Group, which is in opposition to the Savisaar government and criticises it for preoccupation with politics to the detriment to the economy.

The general list does not include deputies from the Russian Party, since they favor Estonia's preservation as sovereign part of the Soviet Union.

Elector Apathy in Estonia

LD0804162391 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian
1400 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] In Western Virumaa district the elections yesterday did not succeed in selecting a deputy to the Supreme Soviet to replace Lembit Kaljuvee, a Western Virumaa district elder who had resigned. Four men were standing, but the elections cannot be seen as having taken place as only 41.2 percent of people on the electoral roll turned up. The Western Virumaa elections commission resolved to propose to the republican elections committee not to organize repeat elections because there is no cause to think that more people would turn up for those.

Additional elections in Viljandi, to its town council, failed likewise. Nineteen candidates were put forward for the six seats on Viljandi town council, but only 33.2 percent of people on the electoral roll turned up to vote.

USSR Checkpoints Removed in Saaremaa

LD0804142891 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian
0900 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Summary] Starting today, there are no longer any USSR border guards checking documents in Saaremaa. Instead, checks are made jointly by the Saaremaa police and Kokukaitse [home defense forces].

Gorbunovs Interviewed on Latvia's Political Prospects

91UN1250A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 9 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA special correspondent V. Portnikov; place and date not given: "I Am Accustomed To Being Between Millstones"]

[Text] From the outside it can seem that Anatolijs Gorbunovs suits everyone: He has an almost ideal position for a politician, having become a sort of symbol of accord for all colors of the political spectrum and having been able to stay outside the parties and above them, and with his people and at the same time above ethnic contradictions. Some object that, on the contrary, Anatolijs Gorbunovs does not suit anyone: Some cannot forgive him for his fairly long tenure at the summit of power, and others openly envy his ability to always find a compromise and not get upset even in seemingly hopeless situations. The truth, as always, is somewhere in between. The political position of the chairman of the parliament of Latvia is very difficult. Nonetheless, he is the sole politician in my memory who has been able to permit himself a childlike, vulnerable smile. The consciousness of one's significance and authority probably begins precisely when a politician can be candid, at least with himself.

[Portnikov] Do you believe that the results of the poll will seriously influence change in the political climate of Latvia? After all, up until this time there has been a certain tension between different groups of the population. The figures have sufficiently demonstrated accord on at least the fundamental issue.

[Gorbunovs] Of course there will always be interethnic problems in such an interethnic republic as ours. But the main question consists of the degree of tension. The results of the poll will significantly stabilize the situation because, in the first place, the Latvian portion has sensed the support of people of other nationalities who reside here. That will bring people closer. On the other side, people of other nationalities understand that the reestablishment of a democratic and independent state is a process. It is no accident that I put the word "democratic" first, and the interests of all the residents of Latvia should be considered in this process. There is no other way in our situation—it is impossible for one part of society to live at the expense of another. All of this will contribute to stabilization of the political situation.

[Portnikov] What do you see as your role in the process of the restoration of independence?

[Gorbunovs] The situation is very complicated, because the political spectrum in Latvia is very broad and the colors are very vivid—fairly radical points of view and political movements dominate.

My fate has been such that even when I worked as secretary for ideology in the Kirov Rayon Party Committee in Riga, where the entire creative intelligentsia and the entire intelligentsia in general was concentrated, and even when I continued to work with them later, it was as though I was constantly between two millstones. I was between the intellectuals and the system which weighed upon them. As a result I am very familiar with the feeling that one experiences in such a situation—the clearer your position, the more complaints against you. Nonetheless, that position must be clear despite the fact that I am getting complaints from different political movements. My position cannot represent the interests of any one group of people—along ethnic or political lines. I must and will take this into account inasmuch as it is only in this fashion that I can somehow consolidate people.

I am not saying this just because I am giving you an interview, but I very often have to defend the interests of the Russian-speaking population even though they, of course, can defend themselves—after all, they are 50 percent of the population. Nonetheless, sincerely wishing to keep Latvians from disappearing from off the earth—and I believe that no one will doubt this wish of mine—I continue to consider it my job to take into account the interest of all the other people.

[Portnikov] You are one of several republic-level leaders who view the position of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev with great sympathy and optimism. What are your views based on? On personal relations that, of course, are different from those of Yeltsin or Landsbergis, or is this simply diplomatic courtesy in regard to the head of the Soviet state?

[Gorbunovs] Of course my relations with him and those between the president and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin cannot be compared. As I understand it, the president has inflicted upon Boris Nikolayevich such wounds in the story of this struggle that it will be very hard for them to heal. If you look at this problem on a purely historical basis. And then Russia is Russia. The president does not fully wish to take it and its parliament and leader into account.

As for my own relations with him, they are based on two things. In the first place, it really was true that we had good relations. When I began working in the USSR Supreme Soviet and at the congresses of people's deputies I introduced many of my own proposals, and the president supported me for the most part. But practically nothing came of what I had proposed. Nonetheless, his attitude toward me was very benevolent. These relations were of a purely personal nature, and they were never overshadowed by any attacks on me on his part. On my part, I attacked him in my speeches in the USSR Supreme Soviet, and I was told that the president was very angry.

Concerning my optimism, I nonetheless think that Gorbachev did quite a lot at one time, at the beginning of the

process of democratization. He also did a lot in international relations. I still have not lost faith that he will summon up courage and that advisers will also be found who will perceive what is new in Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's proposals. I do not at all wish to touch upon their relations and the expressions of Boris Nikolayevich, but there is much that is constructive in Yeltsin's proposals and programs.

[Portnikov] Do you think that the current respect of the republics for the proposals of the leadership of the Russian Federation and of its Supreme Soviet chairman are more likely the result of tactical considerations than a true concurrence of views? After all, these proposals include a program for the preservation of the Union, perhaps on other principles than today's center would like. And does Latvia see itself as a participant in such a community? Is Latvia prepared to belong to it? Or are you still trying to create an absolutely independent state which could integrate itself into various regional associations?

[Gorbunovs] It is difficult to imagine the future in full detail. Indeed, today we are guided by tactical considerations. And not because our strategies are different while our tactics coincide, but because strategy is a fairly relative concept in this crisis in which we currently find ourselves. We genuinely see that Latvia wants to become an independent state and that Russia wishes to become an independent state. These wishes coincide. Or, for example, the agreement with Russia which we signed. This agreement, of course, can be criticized or one may wish for something better. But these are difficult times, and when Boris Nikolayevich first proposed that we sign it we put two things into the agreement: An acknowledgement by the Russian party of our Declaration of Independence, and our own guarantee of the rights of the Russian population. When the question of the fate of the Union itself arises, our views may no longer coincide. But that will be a new situation, and for now we will be able to think and decide what will be better.

[Portnikov] Each republic has its own relations between the executive and legislative powers and between the parliament and the administration. We know how this has influenced the situation in Lithuania. You know, I have noticed a certain distance in the activities of the Supreme Soviet and the administration of Latvia. How correct am I in these observations?

[Gorbunovs] I believe that there are many flaws in our system itself. Because world practice holds that there is either a presidential structure of management or a parliamentary system, although I do not recall a purely parliamentary system. Given the specific way we manage things here, I would like for the administration to be very independent and for the parliament to contribute to its activities. After all, the administration is appointed by us and depends fully upon us. There is also a personal factor of no small importance: Godmanis and I have very good relations. Not because we were friends or were from the same movement or party at one time. It is simply that

Godmanis is a very practical person. And when constant cooperation takes place, the contacts are good.

[Portnikov] Could you also define your contacts with your deputies—A. Ivans and A. Krastins?

[Gorbunovs] There is a somewhat different situation with the deputies because each of us represents different political views. And I hope that this does not have a negative influence on the work of the parliament. Because the parliament itself is the focus of different political views. There is no personal conflict between us, only to some degree a conflict of views, which can also be useful.

[Portnikov] You just returned from a session of the Nordic Council. Did it seem to you that the process of the diplomatic recognition of the Baltic republics was going more quickly?

[Gorbunovs] The main issue, connected with recognition or nonrecognition, is not even a question of political procedure but of purely practical procedure. It is connected in the first place with borders, citizenship, consular relations, and visas. And the delay in recognition is fully compensated by the cooperation not only in the realm of the national economy and in economics but also in the parliamentary sphere. Our Supreme Soviet is perceived as a democratically elected body which is called upon to restore the independence of the republic and which represents the will of all of the people.

[Portnikov] The process of the restoration of the independence of Latvia, however we may treat it dialectically, is connected with its secession from the Soviet Union. Do you think it is possible that while the Union exists it will allow the secession of some territory from it? Or is the future fate of Latvia connected with the further reorganization of that structure? Which do you prefer—the secession of Latvia from the USSR and the existence of the Union without Latvia, or the reorganization of that Union into a number of independent states?

[Gorbunovs] If we consider it on a purely theoretical basis, I cannot wish one thing for my own people and something else for others. That would not be correct. My point of view is that everyone should have the same opportunity to create an independent state, and the people themselves should decide what form their statehood will take. I can only speak, of course, of Latvia. For us, the restoration of independence is a question of the survival of the Latvian people. That is the first thing. The second thing: In regard to our political situation, it seems to me that this is a guarantee that all nationalities can preserve their identity, particularly their culture and education, and for this one needs a democratic state and secession from the Union. I believe that all this should take place gradually. And our relations with the other republics may even improve during this time. But they will be built on the principles of mutual profit in economics and a sincere desire to cooperate in the humanitarian sphere.

[Portnikov] You just mentioned the rights of the residents of Latvia. If one translates this into the language of law, does this signify a "zero variant" and the granting of citizenship to all residents of the republic?

[Gorbunovs] It seems to me that this idea can become a stumbling block for certain political forces in the Republic of Latvia when it is necessary to carry it out legislatively.

A "zero variant" does not mean one and all. I understand it this way: Permanent residents will receive citizenship, that is to say those who themselves wish to become citizens of Latvia, respect its laws, and want to build this state. It is possible that some other rulings will be adopted, but they will be very close to what I have said. I do not believe that any radical points of view will win: Such as those who lived there prior to 1940 and no one else. That is impossible.

[Portnikov] Do you believe that you have found any points of contact with the parliamentary opposition?

[Gorbunovs] That process has just begun, and for the time being I do not foresee great cooperation in the future. Before the elections radical opinions dominated on both sides. This will hamper cooperation unless there is some kind of rapprochement of points of view. Even in the Nordic Council, even though countries take part in it, dialogue is conducted in terms of party groups.

[Portnikov] And whom have you associated yourself with?

[Gorbunovs] With the liberals. It was with them, for example, that I found accord on the basic question—that we should restore our state—although there were shades of difference in terms of pace and forms. And we often have, in essence, diametrically opposed opinions.

[Portnikov] For the present, Baltic unity is really demonstrating itself in opposition to the center. Do you believe that this idea is really feasible on the basis of constructive cooperation?

[Gorbunovs] There is not yet a great amount of real cooperation between us. After all, the main coordination of our efforts, and this genuinely is so, is in opposition to the center. But I hope that once our main issue is settled—the restoration of statehood—we will be able to pay more attention to cooperation. I have seen how our northern neighbors accomplish this, and I believe that we will also be able to do it.

[Portnikov] Are you convinced that the restoration of statehood will follow a parliamentary route and there will not be excesses and armed conflicts? Can you guarantee peace to the people of Latvia?

[Gorbunovs] We are not an island upon which we decide everything ourselves. However amiably we live among ourselves—and just such a wish has been appearing recently—the general economic crisis, which will only deepen in the future, will have a great impact. And when

people live in a state of indeterminateness, there can be incidents of confrontation to the point where even armed people end up taking part. We hope for better, but...

Latvian Groups Issue Citizenship Statement

LD2303112691 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
0530 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] The democratic movements and parties of Latvia are against an immediate settlement of the question of citizenship. Ten democratic movements and parties of Latvia have signed a joint appeal which states:

The coordination center of our organizations announces that the goal of the activity of all its forces is the restoration of a democratic, independent republic of Latvia, at the same time preserving the closest cooperation with the West and East

We categorically condemn any violence. We oppose the campaign of disinformation and lies designed to exacerbate the political situation in the Republic and to sow hatred among its inhabitants. Likewise, we are aware that a state cannot be restored and be recognized in Europe in which human rights and freedom are restricted. We are ready to protect any inhabitant of Latvia irrespectively of his nationality or citizenship.

The announcement also stated:

With the 4 May declaration, the transitional period to the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia began, but it will only be possible to tackle the question of citizenship after the de facto restoration of the Republic of Latvia.

This is what is stated in this democratic movement announcement. It was signed by the People's Front of Latvia, the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Latvia, the Liberal Party of Latvia, the Democratic Party of Labor of Latvia, the Liberal Democratic Party and several other organizations.

The Communist minority Equal Rights faction of the parliament of Latvia continues to demand a settlement of the citizenship question without delay, by demanding its zero version.

Latvian Salvation Body on Price Hike Opposition

PM0504140391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 5 Apr 91 p 1

[Item in "Have You Heard? Did You Read?" column]

[Text] The All-Union Latvian Public Salvation Committee has, after a two-month silence, called on the population to combat the policy of the republic government, which intends to raise prices—and raise them higher than the Union level at that.

Latvian Association Supports Property Owners' Rights

LD0704232491 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
0430 GMT 7 Apr 91

[Excerpt] Today in Riga, there was the founding conference of a new public organization: the Association of Lawful property Owners of Latvia [Latvijas Likumigo Ispasnieku Apvieniba]. It will become one of the structures of the Committee of Latvia. The founding of this association had already been anticipated for a good while. (?it is necessary, it claims, as) no guarantees have been created yet as to who had rights to property before the unlawful incorporation of Latvia into the USSR. More details about the tasks of the new organization from an activist in the founding initiative group, (Zigurds Strikis):

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] The idea for forming the Association of Lawful Property Owners of Latvia has, well, (?been discussed) by both the Committee of Latvia and society in general for a good while. Tell me, what purpose was there in founding the Association? With what do you intend to occupy yourselves?

[Strikis] The Association of Lawful Property Owners of Latvia has been formed to serve the interests of lawful property owners. Lawful property owners are proprietors who had the right to property until 16 June 1940 and their descendants. The resolutions of the newest Supreme Council envisage restricting the range of lawful, of heirs. [sentence as heard] [passage omitted] [end recording]

Latvian Official Comments on Cultural Autonomy Law

PM0104131791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 26 Mar 91 p 1

[K. Makaryan report: "Equal and Autonomous"]

[Text] A law on the free development of national and ethnic groups and their right to cultural autonomy has been adopted in Latvia.

Some deputies in "Equal Rights" minority faction in the republic Supreme Soviet are inclined to regard the adopted law as populist and rhetorical. It is difficult to agree with this.

"We still have to detail many provisions of the new law," A. Panteleyev, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet Commission for Human Rights and National Relations, states. "The law guarantees equal rights for all inhabitants of the Latvian Republic irrespective of nationality. It also stipulates the responsibilities of state organs, particularly for the creation of material conditions for the development of education and the culture and language of national and ethnic groups. For this it has been deemed necessary to make provision for certain funds in the state budget. Incidentally, the economic activity of national cultural societies is not taxable. The adopted

law makes it possible to resolve questions of national relations without political confrontation and the division of the state into territorial parts."

But what does that mean for the Latvian Citizens' Committee, which is struggling for the "purity" of the future citizenship law, or the Public Salvation Committee, which counterposes itself to the supreme authorities?

"Their activity could be outlawed," A. Panteleyev continued. "But we would thereby drive them underground and create an aura of martyrdom around them. In the case of the Latvian Citizens' Committee, however, a distinction should be drawn between the movement itself and its leadership—i.e. the committee. The latter completely discredited itself in the eyes of the Latvian public and has now resigned. The same almost happened to the other committee—the Public Salvation Committee..."

Sajudis Urges Support of Lithuanian Media Officials

LD1203230991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian
1400 GMT 12 Mar 91

[Text] An appeal to the people of Lithuania. You are being addressed by the Lithuanian Sajudis Seimas.

The Lithuanian Sajudis Seimas unconditionally supports indignation of citizens at the continuing aggression by the Soviet Union's army which has unlawfully seized Lithuania's property—radio-television studios, the television tower, and other vitally important objects.

The Lithuanian Sajudis Seimas invites the whole of Lithuania to support the protest action started by the Lithuanian radio and television officials at the radio and television building, proposes to expand the protest action in various forms and continue it until the whole of seized property is returned, until all the losses inflicted by the Soviet Army and the CPSU sub-unit are compensated to the Lithuanian state. It urges public, social, and political movements to lodge a protest against the violations of human rights committed and still being committed by the aggressors, addressing them to corresponding international commissions.

CPSU's Shenin at 17 Feb Lithuanian CP Aktiv Sitting

PM0403140991 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
20 Feb 91 p 4

["Own Information" report: "The Lithuanian Communist Party on the Present Moment"]

[Text] O. Shenin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in a sitting of the Lithuanian Communist Party aktiv held in Vilnius 17 February. As we were told by A. Yevstigneyev, leader of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee News Agency, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee delivered

a report on the present moment and the Communists' tasks. O. Shenin described the present moment as a critical phase of perestroika.

Speaking on life in the republic and the Lithuanian Communist Party's activity on its territory, O. Shenin emphasized that the so-called "Baltic crisis," which developed just two years ago, has entered a new and exceptionally dangerous phase. The report noted that "people in the West are not so optimistic about the Lithuanian leadership's position, because the results of the republic's poll provide only moral support, they do not bring any closer but, on the contrary, could complicate the solution of problems both within the republic and in its relations with the center." In O. Shenin's opinion, all problems must be solved only by legitimate means, in other words only on the basis of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR Constitutions. He gave assurances that, in the course of talks, the Lithuanian delegation will be presented with the point that any disregard for the realities of Lithuania's joining the USSR in 1940 and any nonobservance of procedures for withdrawal from the Union as laid down by law will be tantamount to renunciation of all territories which were not under Lithuanian jurisdiction at that time. During the discussion of the "territorial question" it was emphasized that, in the event of secession from the USSR, Vilnius, Klaipeda, and adjacent oblasts will have to be returned to the Soviet Union.

Supporting the statement by O. Shenin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Communists who spoke during the debate actively called for consolidation of forces.

LDLP Discusses Policy, Action Program

PM1803144391 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
8 Mar 91 p 2

[R. Osherov report: "Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party Has Action Plan"]

[Text] Politics and the economy... One is particularly conscious of their interconnection today. It is hard to differentiate between them and realize where the economy ends and politics begins yet, on the other hand, these concepts have now become so closely interwoven. How are the people to judge the economy (and consequently) politics? Very easily—by wages and empty shelves in the stores. However painful this may be to hear for those who are still prone to the euphoria of national rebirth, the way to the people's hearts—like the way to a man's heart—is through their stomachs. By no means everyone is able or willing to follow P. Cidzickas' brave example.

Lithuania's economy is in a state of crisis—this alarming phrase was the theme of virtually everything that was said at the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDLP] conference held in Vilnius 6 March. Party deputies of all levels gathered here—from the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, from municipal and rayon soviets—to speak

about the republic's most important problems. The gathering was addressed by Prime Minister G. Vagnorius; Professor K. Antanavicius; A. Slizavicius, deputy minister of agriculture; and M. Visakavicius, chairman of the Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

G. Vagnorius described the situation in the republic as very complex and in need of urgent measures. He stressed that political and economic problems can only be resolved comprehensively and that maintaining good relations with the USSR is an important factor—that is the government viewpoint and it will adhere to this policy as long as possible. In the prime minister's opinion, the only way out of the crisis is to switch most speedily to a market economy. No one disputed this, but the government program for the transition to the market which he set out does not seem to have won unanimous approval. G. Vagnorius was asked many questions, particularly about agricultural problems, and, judging by the uproar in the hall, his answers did not entirely satisfy those assembled.

They were sooner attracted by the ideas voiced by Prof K. Antanavicius, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, who slated the government program for privatization, price reform, and other measures, saying that it is not in the interests of the majority of the population and opposing, in particular, the rigid administrative fiat mapped out by the government during the transitional stage. He categorically opposed the physical return of property, including land, and only thought it possible to provide former owners and their heirs with partial compensation—as much as the state can afford.

A. Slizavicius described the state of the republic's agriculture as simply menacing, adding that if there is no improvement in the near future, a real threat of famine may arise. He said that he sees no other way out apart from strict state control over agricultural production.

The speech by LDLP Deputy Chairman V. Berezov was largely devoted to the party's political tasks. He described the left-wing faction's parliamentary activity—it has been decided to rename this the LDLP faction—and the alignment of political forces in the parliament. The need to set up coalitions with other factions and involve independent deputies in their activity was mentioned. V. Berezov said that it is now necessary to prepare for the elections, providing the public with more extensive information about the LDLP's activity, and hold meetings between deputies and voters. Lithuania has a total of roughly 500 deputies from the party of labor and links must be maintained and actions coordinated in order to consistently implement party policy at all levels.

While covering the left-wing faction's activity in parliament, V. Berezov noted that questions it had proposed for discussion at the third Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session like, for example, the question of the draft laws on recalling deputies, on the constitutional court, and on

assessing the work of the first and second sessions, were not even accepted as main questions or were rejected altogether.

In his final speech, LDLP Chairman A. Brazauskas said that the main thing that can win the people's trust is political realism. Today realism consists in being guided by the CPSU since it is now clear that the hopes pinned on the West have totally failed to materialize. Another of the party's immediate tasks should be to take an active part in discussing and adopting laws on privatization and return of property, and other laws that affect working people's interests.

The conference participants adopted a resolution saying that the LDLP should make every effort to formulate a clear concept for reviving statehood in the near future, giving priority to the problems experienced by industry and agriculture, and, in the process of agrarian reform, support the stance held by the Union of Crop Farmers—the land should belong to those who work on it. Every effort must also be made to organize LDLP factions in soviets at all levels, maintain sound cooperation with other parties, and provide constructive opposition to totalitarianism and antidemocracy.

A coordinating council comprising representatives of virtually all areas of Lithuania has been set up to coordinate the activity of all LDLP deputies.

Nixon Met With Lithuanian 'Minority Leaders'

LD0804143191 Vilnius International Service
in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Seven deputy factions, from leftists to the United Sajudis Faction, which unites the rightists, are currently active in the Lithuanian Supreme Council.

The latest, seventh faction, was established just before Easter. It comprises deputies, writers, and those who are not bound by any ideology.

More than a year ago, with Sajudis having won the election, deputies, supported by this movement, comprise the majority in the Lithuanian Parliament.

The loyal opposition includes minority deputies from the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, and the Liberals' Association, although to date nothing has been stated officially concerning this. However, during the visit to Lithuania by former U.S. President Richard Nixon, the minority leaders met with him namely, as members of the parliamentary opposition. This constituted something of a surprise to the majority, a group of whom have issued a statement proposing the announcement of a complete list of the parliamentary opposition membership and program.

Observers note that the opposition will seek Lithuania's independence along a somewhat more moderate path. Only several CPSU deputies, who in fact, no longer

actually participate in the sessions, speak out in parliament against the independence of Lithuania.

Lithuanian Statistical Department on Latest Demographics

LD0704094791 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian
26 Mar 91 p 2

[Article by Arnoldas Caikovskis, entitled, "We—In the Statistical Mirror"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted, commenting on world statistics, published by the UN] Well, what sort of news can be found under our skies? According to data of the Lithuanian Statistical Department, the population in our country consisted of 3,752,000 residents, at the beginning of the current year. During the year, there was an increase of 28,000 in the republic population. There was a natural increase [in the population] of 16.7 thousand; 56.4 thousand births; 39.7 thousand deaths. In comparison with 1989, the birthrate did not vary averaging 15.1 births per thousand of the population. The mortality rate, showed somewhat of an increase—from 10.3 to 10.6 per population thousand.

Last year, population in Vilnius was—92.5 thousand, in Kaunas—429.7 thousand, in Klaypeda—206.2 thousand, in Siauliai—146.6 thousand, in Panevezys—129 thousand, in Alytus—74.9 thousand. [passage omitted on 1989 population statistics, ratio between men and women, widowers and widows and population longevity data]

RSFSR

Criticism of Polozkov, Party Rebutted

91UN1263A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 10 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by I. Antonovich, RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee secretary and Politburo member: "Myths and Masks: How To Polemicize With a Hammer"]

[Text] The subheading is a paraphrase of F. Nietzsche's well-known work "Twilight of the Idols. How To Philosophize With a Hammer." Nietzsche explained his title like this: "There are more idols than realities in the world. This is my malicious view of the world, this is also my 'malicious ear....'" We will be discussing not idols but masks and myths. And it will be for the reader to judge whether we have a "malicious eye" or a "malicious ear."

As we know, on 6 March of this year there was a plenum of the RSFSR CP Central Committee. Its participants discussed tasks of the republic communists for stabilizing the sociopolitical situation. As is the custom, the press that calls itself democratic did not let this escape its attention and responded in its own way. Several mocking fabricated assessments and nasty remarks were made regarding the external appearance of the leaders and

speakers. We have already become accustomed to the arrogant recounting of cock- and-bull stories about the activity of the RSFSR Communist Party in certain Moscow publications and we can ignore them. But I would not like to pass over articles that promote debate and polemics, and they have also appeared. I shall discuss just two of them.

The first is an article by a member of the CPSU Central Committee, O. Latsis, with the title "Masks" and the subheading "What Policy Are They Serving Today." I shall mention at the outset that it is not clear who "they" are—masks or the people with whom O. Latsis is polemicizing. Nor is it clear why the author had to use the word "masks." But the aim of the polemic is clear. Its target is the report by member of the CP Central Committee Politburo and RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary I.K. Polozkov at the 6 March plenum.

Let us note two other nuances. The article by O. Latsis was published in IZVESTIYA. It would seem that when one member of the CPSU Central Committee engages in a polemic with another member of the CPSU Central Committee, that is, a comrade not only in the party but also in its leading organ, it would be natural to use the pages of the party publication for these purposes. For example, one might expect that the deputy editor in chief of the theoretical journal KOMMUNIST would publish his ideas on the pages of this journal, where, incidentally Comrade Polozkov published recently. But, apparently, O. Latsis is interested not in party polemics but in appealing to a wide range of readers, and from the content of his article it is clear: This is not so much a polemic as an attack on the first secretary's report, and what is presented in the article are not so much arguments as stock phrases and acerbic labels. Of course, this is not the most correct path for CPSU members to take to engage in polemics among themselves. Nonetheless it is worth taking a close look at IZVESTIYA's "Masks."

From the very beginning I.K. Polozkov's report is declared to be a sample of "communist populism," although the article's author does not take the trouble to explain what this is and merely declares that it would not be much work for the speaker to play the role of the defender of domestic values in the eyes of those who do not agree with the gross distortion of our past. It seems that here O. Latsis himself makes a gross oversimplification of the essence of the report and the content of the discussion in the plenum of the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party. Incidentally, O. Latsis' position here is not new. Recall his animated speeches in the final stage of the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party, where he made accusations to the effect that the documents of the Constituent Congress contradicted the documents of the recently completed CPSU Congress. The delegates in attendance here undoubtedly recall how the audience reacted to these accusations. They refused to accept them and they refused very energetically.

Now O. Latsis is continuing his own tradition, but this time he is accusing the RSFSR CP Central Committee of malicious intentions and secret designs. Now the accusations are a little more serious. O. Latsis says that I.K. Polozkov "has become appreciably bolder," and he sees this in that the speaker allegedly distorts the idea of centrism. O. Latsis notes suspiciously: "If the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee managed to put forth the idea of centrism—I. Polozkov is already presenting his own understanding..." And there follows a quote from I.K. Polozkov's report, which corresponds quite precisely to the general secretary's idea of centrism. One asks: Why drive in the wedge?

The author of the article asserts simply and categorically: "The entire thrust of his (I.K. Polozkov's—Author) report is to convince people that it never was, it never will be, and they should not even think about it. They should think about saving themselves." He is talking about perestroika. Let us look at I.K. Polozkov's report. It says something altogether different. A large section of the report comes under the heading: "Get rid of illusions, face reality." This contains a fairly fundamental criticism of the party, which has not yet engaged properly in the matter of saving the country from sliding into a catastrophe, and mentions with alarm the fact that the bottom line of the public attitude has become dissatisfaction. It points out that forces deliberately opposing the socialist orientation have been organized in the country. And right here it asserts: "The hope of our opponents, obviously, is to maximize this dissatisfaction, to merge it all into a common stream, to disband the soviets, to overthrow the country's leadership and the USSR president, and to remove our party from the political arena. Therefore it is necessary to act on the basis of these realities."

Is it not obvious that this points to forces that hold anticommunist positions, whose task it is to destroy our currently existing system, and appeals to us to fight against them, including those who are trying to besmirch the reality and the actual plans of the USSR president. Why then stir up opposition and openly accuse the RSFSR Communist Party and its leader of going "in any direction but the one suggested." Incidentally, O. Latsis does not mention where we should go in this regard, and yet he accuses I.K. Polozkov of taking a position that supposedly develops a program of regression, toward an administrative economy, toward the restoration of the state-management functions of the CPSU in politics, and toward the principles of the class struggle and a rejection of the orientation toward general human values in ideology.

This is misrepresentation, to put it mildly. If we take the report and a number of other of I.K. Polozkov's public statements, the dominant theme is different: There is no way back. And I.K. Polozkov, when speaking about attitudes in the party and among the people, establishes that the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party, and other republic party committees are faced squarely with the

full force of the task of saving the country from disaster and supporting the progressive reforms begun by perestroika, including democratization and economic reform. Therefore the discussion at the plenum was about stabilizing the economy as the key task of the day, the restoration of constitutional order and the capabilities of the soviets, and the fight against models of false perestroika proposed by forces which are interested not so much in deepening socialism as in causing its disintegration. Or does O. Latsis think these forces do not exist? Then allow us to advise him to attend more rallies organized by Democratic Russia.

The question arises: What did O. Latsis expect from I.K. Polozkov's report, which was devoted to an analysis of the sociopolitical situation in the country and the tasks of emerging from the crisis? A report on the overall successes and the enthusiasm of the workers? I do not think so. Then why has he so viciously attacked such clear appeals to communists: to organize, rally forces, act, reject antidemocratic tendencies in the society that are ripening on the basis of the anticommunist opposition, and unmask the false democrats who are supposed to be looking out for perestroika but are actually dealing a fatal blow to it by persistently trying to replace socialism with capitalism, and in its crudest form.

O. Latsis did not mention a single positive or constructive argument; he could hear only appeals to turn back. But I read the report over again, after having listened to it attentively, and I did not find a single hint about turning back.

Let us turn our attention to the final part of Polozkov's report. He suggests four directions for our work:

1. To restore confidence in the party among the people and strengthen its influence among the workers by dealing conscientiously with the specific problems plaguing the people and searching for ways of surmounting the socioeconomic crisis.
2. To contribute to the unification of all patriotic forces in favor of restoration of the homeland, its unity and integrity, and its well-being and prosperity. To defend the USSR. To strengthen the friendship of the fraternal nations of the country and fight unwaveringly against people who have exhibited nationalism and chauvinism, regardless of where they may have come from.
3. To stop the country's slide toward an economic catastrophe.
4. To protect and strengthen the power of the soviets.

I ask O. Latsis: What is unconstructive here? Where are the calls to turn back here? In my opinion, on the contrary, the report looks to the future; it contains appeals for joint actions, unification, civil harmony, and stability. Let us say in passing that this is also the position of the USSR president as expressed during his recent visits to Minsk, as well as the CPSU Central Committee. And as a member of the Central Committee

of the RSFSR Communist Party and its secretary, I am very glad that in this case we are working in the same direction, although I can well imagine how difficult this path is, how unimaginably complicated it is today to find agreement under the conditions of the hostility, the continuing bloodletting, and the operation of forces directed toward splitting the country and society apart.

Incidentally, a considerable share of the assessments and descriptions of our past socialism presented by O. Latsis in this article are quite acceptable, and the article reflects the attitudes and evaluations of a considerable number of members of the RSFSR CP Central Committee. I am convinced that there is room for agreement on many issues. So why should we inflame passions, strengthen the opposition among communists themselves, and drive a wedge between the leaders of the largest party organization of the CPSU and the CPSU Central Committee? Let us put it simply: This is a not an altogether honest device, and it is not in keeping with the spirit of comradeship.

We agree with the point O. Latsis made in the conclusion of his article that it is a dangerous situation in a society in which the two extreme wings are gathering excessive force and the political center is disappearing. We absolutely agree with him when he says that the USSR president must represent the entire society. It is not his weakness but his duty to look for compromises, and we shall always support him in this search. We agree that the ideas of political centralism are more timely than ever before and that if a solid political center is developed the activity of the flanks can be useful.

We just disagree that the RSFSR Communist Party, which comprises the very core of the CPSU, should be regarded as some kind of flank by O. Latsis or other people, regardless of how high their titles and reputations may be. The RSFSR Communist Party sees its task as being the main force supporting the goal of perestroika and renewal of the society and the creative programs for emerging from the crisis suggested by the USSR president and the USSR Supreme Soviet. Communists of Russia will fight indefatigably to make sure that the highest organs of Soviet power in the Russian Federation take these effective measures which will help to improve Russia's sociopolitical situation, defuse the confrontation of the opposing forces, and lead to a new level of well-being of the citizens and to their social protection.

In light of the polemic that has developed, one cannot fail to pay attention to the article by V. Lipitskiy, also a member of the RSFSR CP Central Committee, which was published recently in the newspaper *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* [in Russian 19 Mar 91 p 2] under the intriguing title of "By the Old Cossack's Way," which the author does not take the trouble to explain. [see 91UN1148A Lipitskiy Criticizes Party's 'Myths'] Perhaps the "Cossack's way," if he means dashing cavalry

charges, is explained by the tone, character, and argumentation of the article? The more so since this can be traced in a number of other of his public statements...

V. Lipitskiy begins with a paradoxical statement: "The atmosphere of incompleteness, indistinctness, and innuendoes densely enshrouds the Russian Communist Party." And he immediately asks proponents of extreme precision to forgive his arbitrary but already, in his opinion, firmly entrenched abbreviation—RKP [Russian Communist Party]. Allow me, however, not to forgive a member of the RSFSR CP Central Committee for using an abbreviation which is used by a certain group of publications that take the liberty of writing about our party in a derogatory manner... But we shall not moralize. Recently we have been lecturing to one another too much. Let us try to figure out the essence of the article. Judging from everything, its name, "By the Old Cossack Method," is intended to characterize the leadership of the RSFSR CP Central Committee and its secretariat, whom the author accuses of allowing the policy of the RSFSR Communist Party to be produced by an extremely small group of people.

Incidentally, the author of the article is inconsistent regarding the small group. He gives a positive assessment to the "frequent, basically productive trips" of secretaries of the RSFSR CP Central Committee to the local areas and meetings in the primary party organizations. While the secretaries of the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party frequently visit party collectives in various regions of Russia, they are not a closed caste of party theoreticians who compose nice sounding programs which have little to do with the real situation, but try to understand the attitudes of the party masses and express them in their actions.

And further: The Secretariat of the RSFSR CP Central Committee, and particularly your humble servant, will never agree with V. Lipitskiy's thesis that with the creation of the RSFSR Communist Party "there appeared a unique chance to begin with a clean slate to introduce a realistic mechanism for exercising the power of the party masses." The more so since regarding the "unique chance" V. Lipitskiy comes to the hasty conclusion that his "hopes were not justified."

Let us begin with the fact that the RSFSR Communist Party did not intend to work "from a clean slate." It has behind it the traditions and experience of our party's work, beginning with the underground conditions, through the victorious revolution and the hard experiences both during the twenties and during the years of the Great Patriotic War, through the sacrifices of the Stalinist terror, and through the disease of stagnation. Our party has seen it all: both impressive victories and tragic defeats. To begin with "a clean slate," forgetting the experience of our predecessors, which has been accumulated through hard work and selfless service to the people, would be unforgivable impertinence and even betrayal of preceding generations. And then: It is too soon to speak about unjustified hopes; only a couple

of months have passed since the constituent congress. The organization is just getting started. Today we should suggest where it is making mistakes and which ideas should lie at the basis of its further activity. That would be honest. But V. Lipitskiy, RSFSR CP Central Committee member, avoids this.

In general, his article, like a number of other public statements, has few ideas, but there are correct assessments in it here and there. He complains that people have begun to criticize him for nonconformity and he cites the biting statement that one must not consider all nonconformists to be CIA agents. Let us respond to this: Who thinks this, who is expressing this suspicion about our esteemed colleague? V. Lipitskiy hints that he is being persecuted for nonconformity. I am convinced that neither factor is involved here—neither persecution nor nonconformity, which still requires innovative thoughts. Does V. Lipitskiy have any? The article contains many plain accusations about the leadership and sets tasks not only for members of the Central Committee but also for all Russian Communists who intend to "live in the new home." The fundamental innovation lies elsewhere. Comrade Lipitskiy is one of the small group of party intellectuals who conceived the creation of the faction called the "Democratic Movement of Communists." Its goal is to create within the structure of the RSFSR Communist Party independent subdivisions that profess ideas similar to social democratic ones. The plenum warned against the danger of factional activity, and it did this in a fairly tactical and statutory form.

Regardless of how much V. Lipitskiy entreated us not to cry over shattered illusions, one unpleasant question cannot be avoided: What specifically are he and the coordination council for the platform of the Democratic Movement, of which he is a member, suggesting. Unfortunately, there are no concrete proposals, and out-and-out accusations predominate.

The first of them is an almost verbatim repetition of the insinuations contained in O. Latsis's article to the effect that I.K. Polozkov's report diverged from the position of the general secretary. Quoting the statement that perestroika had been monopolized by a narrow group of office politician-radicals, who artificially manipulate public opinion, Lipitskiy says: "Here we have not a pebble but a heavy boulder thrown into the garden of the highest CPSU Central Committee and its general secretary...."

When this statement is taken out of context it is alarming. But, after all, Comrade Lipitskiy was present at the plenum and he remembers well the context in which all this was said. And it was said about the alignment of forces which, with all of its irregularity and neglect in our modern society, is fairly simple. Essentially, the opposition, following a scenario imposed from the outside, is trying to create a second political center. And this center today claims the right to dictate its will to the state leaders and all the republics.

Is it necessary to go far for examples? V. Lipitskiy undoubtedly knows the name of one academician who even yesterday was a loyal Communist and member of the Central Committee and today is an active presence at all presidiums of meetings of Democratic Russia and is calling for the creation of a party to oppose the CPSU. Is it necessary to remind V. Lipitskiy of other "lieutenants of perestroika" who began their activity by criticizing the CPSU for its inadequate influence on perestroika, and today are coming out as opponents of perestroika. Incidentally, today the Coordination Council of the Democratic Movement (Comrade Lipitskiy himself said that he was a member of it) is calling some of them their ideological heroes. These people, as we see it, are capable of making a 180-degree turn without blinking an eye and filling the goals of perestroika with different content, and they are purely hostile to the interests of socialism and the long-term interests of our society as a whole.

B. Lipitskiy accuses the RSFSR CP Central Committee of believing in three myths. He considers the first of them to be the explanation that all the problems and disorder of recent years have been the result of deliberate activity of hostile forces. Comrade Lipitskiy thinks that there are no such forces and there cannot be any. He would like to advise Comrade Latsis of the same thing—just go out on the square to one rally organized by Democratic Russia. There V. Lipitskiy would see all the slogans for overthrowing the USSR president, and the Supreme Soviet, and the central power, which today he attributes to the speaker and certain others who spoke at the plenum. One asks: Who is taken in by the myth—V. Lipitskiy, who denies the existence of forces in opposition to socialist renewal of the society, or the others? The answer is obvious.

The second myth which V. Lipitskiy attributes to the speaker and others who spoke at the plenum is the assertion that the process of renewal of socialism in a certain stage was transformed into a movement for changing the social system. This, frankly, is a simplistic interpretation of the essence of the discussion. Something else was being discussed at the plenum: that social forces that set the task of replacing socialism with capitalism have been forming in the society. The speaker and the others who spoke warned that an abrupt change from public ownership of the means of production to private ownership as the predominant form would cause sociopolitical consequences that would be much more catastrophic than the forced collectivization of the twenties. As we can see, the author is really stretching the point here.

Finally, the third myth which V. Lipitskiy claims has taken participants in the plenum as victims: He formulates it as a danger that destructive forces in the country and abroad want to break our Union apart. And here he categorically objects: "There are no such forces either in

the country or abroad. Or if there are, their role is greatly exaggerated." Excuse me, but if the role of these forces is exaggerated, then these forces must exist. And if they exist, there is not a single society concerned about its own survival and the well-being of its citizens that could remain indifferent to it.

Why look far? Take the official documents of Democratic Russia which officially state the anticommunist position of its advocates and make an appeal for the creation of a new class of masters and owners and for the introduction of private property as the main kind in our society. Add to this the stiff resistance to preserving the USSR as a unified state which continues our thousand-year history. Did V. Lipitskiy really not read the confessions of one of the theoreticians of this movement who suggested, instead of the Soviet Union, creating an "Association of States of Europe and Asia?" Did V. Lipitskiy not see the campaign slogans and speeches of a number of people's deputies on television and in the press who, on the eve of the referendum, suggested saying "no" to the revived Union? Did V. Lipitskiy not see on television the festive meeting on 8 March where the leader of the Moscow Soviet was the only person to vote against a suggestion that the whole meeting support a unified Soviet Union? Some people even called this an act of "civic courage." But I see civic irresponsibility in this. It is time for V. Lipitskiy to begin to analyze the situation politically, as a member of the RSFSR CP Central Committee and not as a person who has his own personal predilections and is trying to pin political labels on people.

Let us sum up the results of the polemic. As you can see, we wanted neither personal accusations nor labels (there are many of them in the articles we reviewed). We wanted to discuss only the essence and looked for ideas and assessments of the situation which is disturbing our society. But there were very few constructive ideas in these articles. And there were attempts to defame certain political figures, cover them with masks that do not correspond to their real positions or political behavior.

Let us propose programs and compare them and much will become clear—including that we are not enemies but people looking for a path. Let us look for the truth together. We may have conflicting viewpoints but we should not attack one another. A society torn apart by antagonism will not survive. Nothing in today's socioeconomic or political atmosphere dictates the need for antagonistic opposition except for the personal ambitions of politicians lusting for power at any price. Let us say our resolute "no" to irresponsible power grabbers and let us take up our day-to-day work, a study of the real situation and a search for a way out. The situation is difficult but not hopeless. In much more difficult situations we have always found a way out if everyone had good will for action. We have good will. Let us look for a way out together.

Russian 'Patriotic' Associations Conference Resolutions

91UN1265A Moscow VETERAN in Russian No 13, Mar 91 p 5

[Unattributed report on documents adopted at conference of Russian sociopolitical and national-patriotic associations in Moscow on 27 February: "For a Great and Unified Russia"]

[Text] Under the motto "For a Great and Unified Russia," a conference took place 27 February in Moscow in the October Hall of the House of Unions at which representatives of 26 various Russian sociopolitical and national-patriotic associations met—from communist organizations to monarchist. In spite of such a broad spectrum of political views and ideological convictions of conference participants, one thing drew them together—alarm over the destiny of Russia.

More than 40 speakers took the podium, relating with emotion and passion how Russia faces the real danger of losing its own statehood, appealing for unity in the face of common misfortune, and calling for people to forget their differences and come together to save the republic, to join all patriotic forces in this effort. Academician N.V. Vasilev from Omsk described the existing situation most graphically—"We are all the crew on board an overloaded boat with barely an inch of space between deck and water level. An extraordinary amount of care and resourcefulness must be exercised to see to it that the boat does not sink to the bottom. One false move, not to mention panic or a struggle, will cause all on board to perish immediately."

No one had any doubt of the necessity to combine efforts and undertake measures of some sort. But what measures? Unfortunately there have been far fewer constructive proposals than inflammatory speeches.

V.M. Osipov, representative of the Christian union "Rebirth," proposed the establishment of a Duma, which would serve as the national brain center and coordination point of all patriotic forces, as well as incorporating a national conference. The Duma structure would contain working commissions for averting disintegration of the country and economic collapse, for defense of the orthodox church, for popular sobriety, for protection of the family, women, and youth. It would have commissions on culture, democracy, resettlement, the military, foreign policy, and publications.

In the opinion of USSR People's Deputy N.S. Petrushenko, member of the "Soyuz" group of deputies, the unification of patriotic forces should be begun with the establishment of their own mass media—newspaper, radio station, television channel, and information agency. One such publication could be the newspaper DEN [DAY], whose editor, A. Prokhanov, presided over the conference.

A.E. Romanenko, from the Leningrad-based Russian patriotic organization "Otechestvo" [Fatherland], called upon every organization, every association, to work toward uniting patriotic forces in their localities. He did not state, however, in what form he saw this activity taking place.

Conference participants adopted a number of final documents: the appeals "To the Peoples of Russia" and "To the Peoples of the Soviet Union"; resolutions "On the Draft Russian Constitution," "On Interethnic Relations in the RSFSR," "On the Army," "On the Rebirth of Russian Culture," and others.

We publish here the adopted documents.

To the Peoples of Russia

Fellow countrymen, fellow Russians! Brothers and sisters!

The great power created by labor and sacrifice over a history of many centuries is today, during our generation, in mortal danger, and it is with our tolerance and negligence that this has come about.

Regional egoism, selfishness, and arrogance on the part of power-lovers large and small, as well as loss of the state ideal are paralyzing any action for the good of the entire country and all the people and are turning us into a chaotic, anarchist society.

At the will of thoughtless and nearsighted politicians, we are becoming defenseless, deprived of allies, powerful weapons, and defensive consciousness. Our impending fate promises the role of a satellite deprived of its own national policy, deprived of its own purpose of historical existence.

How can we overcome these disastrous consequences? How can we avoid terrible calamity, civil war, and destruction? How can we preserve a mighty power and the vitality of our people?

We must immediately reject personal, group, and party discord, and return to the strong authority of a powerful state capable of setting and achieving majestic aims of development, defending its borders, defending its citizens, and expressing a universal ideal understood and accepted by all the people. Only a strong, judicious, patriotically functioning power is capable of extricating Russia from its tragedy and rallying fraternal peoples around it.

We patriots of our native land must forget our differences, hurt, and grievances. We must forgive injustices, for we have one ideal alone—Russia, one faith alone—in its hidden destiny. Only unity in the face of Russian misfortune and brotherhood during the period of Russian adversity will be able to save our native land and our people and preserve the integrity of the Union.

Honest labor, and not social cunning or outright deceit, must become the foundation of the Russian's wealth.

Democracy of labor, and not the demagoguery of elite segments, must become the foundation of political power.

All of us, representatives of parties, social movements, and creeds, not abandoning our factories and fields, our scientific institutes and laboratories, our parishes and temples, all of us, servicemen, writers, and artists, must use our influence great and small, social and party, to create a Russian patriotic movement whose aim is to save Russia.

We reject trust in the so-called radical democrats who have betrayed the most important possession of our history—a great country, a great multiethnic society.

Fellow countrymen! Our people are wise and patient. We call upon you not to give up, not to lose spirit, not to believe the slander, but to prepare yourselves for great labor and great achievements in the name of Russia.

To the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Fellow countrymen!

We, representatives of various nationalities, have different languages, different cultures and creeds, but historically over the course of many years have lived and continue to live in a united country. Ties between Russians and all the other peoples of the country reach back into the depth of centuries. Russians have become part of the indigenous population of many Union republics.

During the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War, together we defended our native land, stood up for its independence, shared the last piece of bread. Our children, evacuated from European Russia, Belorussia, the Ukraine, and the Baltic region found refuge and hospitality in the Urals, in Siberia, in Central Asia. After the war, our combined efforts revived the national economy and built a new life. Thousands of Russians and people of other nationalities followed the bidding of their heart and went to the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, and the Baltic region with the single aim of helping their brothers rebuild settlements out of the ashes and ruins of a city, to revive an economy ruined by war. We created combined families outside the realm of nationality, involving only the love and understanding of those near and dear.

In recent years we have seen the emergence in our common home of intolerance towards representatives of another, nonindigenous nationality, and even violence with respect to it. Russians and other peoples are becoming excess, people whose rights are encroached upon in their very own state, a state in which nationalities live together.

We appeal to the president and to all legislative and executive organs of the country: It is necessary to secure real security and equal rights for every USSR citizen.

Let us cleanse ourselves of the filth which has appeared, overcome and eliminate in ourselves the feelings of

distrust, misunderstanding, and hatred that manifests themselves at times towards people of other nationalities. Let us revive respect and love for one another, no matter what nationality we are.

On the Draft Russian Constitution

Russia stands at the threshold of adoption of a new Constitution. Our destiny is being determined—will we, citizens of Russia, preserve our fundamental socioeconomic rights or deprive ourselves of them? Will land belong to the peasants, and factories to the workers, or will smart operators of the criminal economy and corrupted officials become their owners? Will Russia remain a Soviet Republic or be turned into a totalitarian state with practically unlimited power in the hands of a single individual?

A new Constitution need not result in degradation of our rights or prior achievements. Nor should it reshape existing national-territorial and administrative boundaries.

The authors of the draft Fundamental Law, prepared by the Constitutional Commission of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, are essentially proposing that we completely cancel out the entire Soviet period of our Russian history. The draft denies citizens the right to work, right to housing, free education of all varieties, and free professional medical aid. It introduces practically unlimited private ownership. The production principle of representation in soviets of the working class and peasantry is destroyed. The very idea of a Republic of Soviets is consigned to oblivion. Separation of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial becomes an illusion, insofar as plans call for giving the Russian president the powers of a true dictator. Under such an approach, the concept of power belonging to the workers will remain just a blessed memory. In conferring upon the RSFSR president the powers of commander in chief, this draft practically presupposes the creation of a special army and puts it in a position of confrontation against the USSR Armed Forces.

The peoples of Russia must show sound judgment and vigilance. This draft must not become our Fundamental Law.

We appeal to the workers and all citizens of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to all people who retain a loyalty to the ideals of genuine power to the people, democracy, and social justice, to put an end, while there is still time, to the attack of capitalist dictatorship.

Power in Russia must belong to the people of labor!

On Interethnic Relations in the RSFSR

The crisis we are enduring in society is reflected most acutely in interethnic relations. Processes of renewal in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic are inconceivable without full-blooded development of the

cultures of all peoples living in its territory. Each inhabitant of Russia, regardless of his nationality, must have his rights protected, wherever he lives. This is impossible to achieve if we do not preserve the integrity of the Russian Federation as a unified state, joining all its peoples on a voluntary basis and guaranteeing them full-blooded freedom of development.

Over the course of a history spanning many centuries, the voluntary uniting of peoples around Russia has enable people to successfully overcome any and all trials, and has constituted the glory and greatness of our Fatherland.

While rendering a fair and proper assessment to errors and omissions committed in the sphere of interethnic relations, we must at the same time structure ethnic policy based on the finest historical traditions of relations among the peoples of Russia. We must not permit interethnic confrontation. This is what our peoples demand and it is in the interests of all honest people.

Conference participants call upon all citizens of the Russian Federation to unite in a universal revival of genuine trust, respect, and friendship among peoples.

On the Army

The conference believes that the Army is the trustworthy and reliable shield of Russian statehood, the guarantor of the country's security. Serving in the Army are our sons and brothers, defenders of the Fatherland, who require the thoughtful attention and respect of society.

Universal military obligation, affixed in the USSR Constitution, expresses the all-ethnic nature of our Army and facilitates the patriotic upbringing of our youth.

Conference participants express their resolute support for a cessation of the various kinds of attacks inflicted upon our Armed Forces. We state our opposition to plans to dismember the Army republic by republic and to the establishment of republic armed formations, and declare our support for a worthy assessment of the martial labor and feats of arms of our veterans and internationalist soldiers.

The conference expresses its confidence that military servicemen will always retain their sacred loyalty to the heroic traditions of our Army. We call upon workers, peasants, and the working intelligentsia to show their support for defending the honor of the USSR Armed Forces, the unity of the Army and the people.

On the Rebirth of Russian Culture

We, conference participants, are troubled over the disastrous situation in which the culture of multiethnic Russia finds itself. Many theaters, museums, libraries, and concert halls are in a state of neglect. Unique monuments of the country are perishing. The Russian national wealth is being lost. The education and upbringing of our youth are deprived of national traditions and respect for the origins of peoples.

The commercial aspect of culture is becoming a state principle which has already led to grave consequences. Television and movie screens and theater stages are filled with base productions, immorality, pornography, and violence. Instead of original ethnic music and folk dances, radio and television are permeated with an unartistic, unmusical current of pseudo-music and rock. Manufactured products of peoples' artistic trade and other cultural valuables are exported for trifling profits.

The main path toward reviving our culture lies in restoring its ethnic self-consciousness, its creative and constructive foundation, in guarding and protecting it from spiritual emptiness—as we would from the plague, cholera, or AIDS.

The state of culture in Russia urgently demands the development of a new cultural policy. The conference appeals to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, asking that accelerated effort be devoted to the adoption of laws regulating and stimulating the preservation of our cultural legacy, the development of contemporary Russian culture, the institution of an Academy of Russian Language and Literature, revival of the All-Russian Academy of the Arts, and the establishment of a Cultural Center of Peoples of the Russian Federation.

Declaration of Patriotic Social Organizations Participating in the Conference

We appeal to the Communist Party of Russia, the only powerful structure that remains undestroyed in which the universal Russian ideal still breathes. The time has come to bring it out of its political slumber, to formulate an ideology of national salvation, to throw off its tattered and dilapidated garments, to array itself in the armor of Russian statehood, and to shield the people from packs of money-grubbers who have rushed in to destroy our home for all the people. It is in this that we see the party's all-ethnic policy in this new and threatening period of Russian history.

On the Interethnic Conflict in South Ossetia

With each passing day the interethnic conflict in South Ossetia acquires a more profound nature. Physical terror and violence continue being inflicted upon old men, women, and children guilty of nothing. The situation is resounding as acute pain and indignation in the heart of every honest person in the country. Continued blockade of the autonomous oblast threatens the Ossetian people with extinction by starvation or total flight out of their lands. Yet another bloody ethnic wound is becoming chronic and incurable. And all of this is taking place against a background of hypocritical declarations on democracy and cynical comments about the Ossetians as "an insignificant minority" by the new Georgian leadership.

The conference expresses its resolute protest and condemnation of the organizers of the interethnic violence in South Ossetia. The conference also expresses its concern at the sluggishness of actions on the part of the

USSR Supreme Soviet and government, and demands that decisive measures be taken on an immediate and emergency basis to stabilize the situation in South Ossetia and protect human rights there.

Each new day brings new innocent deaths. Our descendants will never forgive us for this!

Russian CP Control Body Views Moldova 'Victimization'

PM0804105791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Commission Presidium"]

[Text] A session of the RSFSR CP Central Control Commission Presidium has been held. One of the main questions which provoked long and heated debate was the discussion of the results of an examination of the letters of Comrade M.V. Barinov of Mordovian ASSR. Thanks to features in the central press (in PRAVDA and SELSKAYA ZHIZN), this protracted affair has received wide publicity. Let us recall the essentials: A man who addressed a letter to the CPSU Central Committee was accused in the republic of slander, condemned on a fabricated charge, spent almost six months in prison, and was freed only after the intervention of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office.

The organizers of this unprecedented victimization got their deserts. By decision of the CPSU Central Control Commission Bureau A.I. Berezin, former first secretary of the Mordovian CPSU Obkom [oblast party committee], was expelled from the party "for persecution of a petitioner to the CPSU Central Committee, gross violations of party principles of work with cadres and of the norms of party morality, and personal indiscipline displayed in examining a personal case." Other accomplices in the reprisals against the letter writer also incurred party penalties: Yu.I. Mashin, former chief of the party obkom (now republic committee) party organization and cadre work department; and V.A. Adushkin, former republic prosecutor. They were reprimanded (the former at the republic party committee plenum, the latter at a meeting of the Mordovian ASSR Prosecutor's Office party organization).

However, many of the republic's communists interpreted the penalties imposed on the last two men as too liberal, which prompted the RSFSR CP Central Control Commission Presidium to return to the case.

The session gave a tough and principled assessment to the actions of former organization chief Yu.I. Mashin; there were even suggestions that he be expelled from the party. However, in view of Comrade Mashin's sincere repentance for what happened and his acknowledgment of his guilt, the Central Control Commission Presidium ruled by majority vote against altering the penalty imposed by the participants in the republic party committee plenum.

The question of the party responsibility of former republic prosecutor V.A. Adushkin was deferred in view of his illness.

The Central Control Commission Presidium examined the application of V.A. Panpurin and E.L. Aleksandrova for the party rehabilitation of their fathers, I.I. Kotolynov and L.O. Khanik, and also the cases of a further 11 communists from the so-called "Leningrad Center" terrorist organization who were expelled from the party and shot in 1934 on an unsubstantiated charge of involvement in the murder of S.M. Kirov. They were judicially rehabilitated at the USSR Supreme Court Plenum of 30 November 1990, which quashed the sentence against these people and dismissed the case owing to the absence of a corpus delicti in their actions. Thus it was that a further 13 communists who fell under the terrible steamroller of the Stalinist repressions had their good name restored to them.

The date and agenda of the RSFSR CP Central Control Commission Plenum were determined. It will be held in Moscow in June. The question "of the activity of the control organs in asserting the authority of the RSFSR Communist Party" is to be submitted for discussion.

Study of appeals to the 28th CPSU Congress continued at the session, and other issues were also examined.

Veterans' Aide Scores RSFSR Stance on Republics

91UM0336A Moscow VETERAN in Russian No 6. Feb 91 pp 2-3

[Report by V.I. Dolgikh, All-Union Veterans' Council deputy chairman, to 23 January 1991 council plenum: "We Will Preserve and Strengthen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics"]

[Text] The sociopolitical situation in the country continues to remain acute, tense, and in crisis. The miscalculations permitted by the leadership of the country and the CPSU and the belated reaction to the actions of Russian authorities, who have assumed the position of open confrontation to the center, have become a destabilizing factor. The power of the President of the USSR and its prestige have begun to sharply degenerate. The causes are the disparity between actions and words and promises, the increasingly worsening economic situation, first of all providing the population with food and manufactured goods, and the wave of interethnic conflicts. It is impossible to not see the indecisiveness and even helplessness of the authorities. The President's Decrees are not being carried out and there is no demand [to deal with] the guilty. The people do not understand why the organizers of interethnic strife and bandit acts and shadow economy businessmen who are illegally accumulating millions [of rubles] are not being brought to justice.

The Soviet people are extremely upset by the confrontation of the leaders of the Russian Federation Supreme

Soviet and the center. The Russian Parliament, which should become the binding element in the Union, is becoming a factor of its collapse and alienation. Their adoption of the well-known Declaration on Sovereignty was a sort of catalyst of similar activities in other republics and we observed the so-called parade of sovereignties. The Russian leadership's clearly destructive role has been manifested in connection with the worsening of the situation in the Baltic countries.

Events in the Baltic republics, and in Lithuania in particular, have developed in such a way that the matter has reached decisions on its secession from the USSR. The hopes of the country's leadership for compromise and its attempts to stabilize the situation through explanation, persuasion, and economic sanctions under conditions of the open and irreconcilable extremism of the Lithuanian leadership has turned out, as we should have anticipated, to be an illusion. The communists of Lithuania, who stand on the positions of the CPSU, the Russian-speaking people who have been deprived of their rights and who have become alarmed by a future that promises nothing good, and also servicemen, their families, and veterans of war and labor are the only force opposing Landsbergis and his entourage. The situation in workers collectives of union-subordinated enterprises in the Baltic Republics has become extremely tense. This part of the working class of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia has begun to express open complaints against the union government—they say they have been left to the whims of fate. They have expressed their resolve to fight for their rights and for the socialist order. A fundamental confrontation of supporters of socialism and capitalism has taken shape—this is the key to the issue. The provocative acts of the Lithuanian authorities have caused an outburst of indignation from some of the people, primarily from the Russian-speaking population. Bloody clashes have occurred in Vilnius, relations between the center and the republics have become difficult, and the general background in which the Union Treaty issue will be discussed has worsened.

A difficult situation has also developed in the long red-hot region—the Transcaucasus. Having taken advantage of the shocked confusion of the CPSU Central Committee and republic party organizations, so-called Popular Fronts—radical democrats and antisocialist forces—have assumed power in Georgia and Armenia. The leaders of these republics have taken a course toward secession from the USSR and toward the formation of independent states of another socialist content. The new Georgian authorities have adopted discriminatory decisions with regard to South Ossetia and have created a new hotbed of interethnic discord that is fraught with serious consequences.

The intensity of the struggle between Azerbaijan and Armenia in connection with Nagornyy Karabakh has not abated and it has even worsened. Interethnic conflicts in the Republic of Moldova have reached dangerous development. Rukh's pompous propaganda activities in Ukraine are increasingly acquiring organized forms.

The demand of the majority of the republics for recognition of the supremacy of republic law over union law is placing the union leadership in the person of the President, USSR Supreme Soviet, and the government in a position similar to a dead-end, and many political figures, including people's deputies, are continuing to search for decisive steps, including the introduction of presidential rule in individual regions, as a way out of it.

The All-Union Veterans' Council has expressed its attitude toward it in a special statement. We advocate observance of the Constitutions of the USSR and Lithuania, we oppose attacks on human rights, oppose terror with regard to activists of Soviet rule and party members, and we oppose the restoration of capitalism.

Veterans decisively condemn RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman B.N. Yeltsin's statement on the intention to create a Russian army and his appeal to servicemen from Russia who are in the Baltics to not obey their commanders' orders. Veterans assess this statement as a carefully thought out provocative act directed at the collapse of the USSR and that undermines its Armed Forces and dooms the country to chaos, anarchy, and lawlessness. We support the USSR President's January 22 statement on this issue.

The economic situation in the country continues to worsen and the workers' standard of living is declining. Prices are even rising on everyday necessities. The destruction of the so-called command-administrative system of national economic management without replacing it without anything new, the disruption of economic ties between enterprises, and the decline of discipline and responsibility have resulted in the reduction of the level of production. One can practically note the collapse of capital construction.

The vows and promises of many "democratic" deputies during the elections that they would rapidly resolve the housing problem as soon as they came to power have turned out to be empty irresponsible slogans that pursued the goal of only obtaining additional votes from the voters.

The food situation is especially alarming. Despite a record harvest in 1990, goods reserves in trade and industry have been reduced. According to the government, the decline of delivery discipline is the main cause of the food crisis. Nearly all food products have become shortage items and speculation in them is increasing. Fees for utilities are increasing. This painfully hits first of all of the low-paid portion of the population—veterans and the disabled. The trouble also is the fact that the government has not developed an income index mechanism during inflation. The All-Union Veterans' Council has repeatedly raised this issue to the government and to the Supreme Soviet, however, it, as they say, "has hung" unresolved just like many others.

A CPSU Central Committee Plenum which discussed the Union Treaty issue occurred at the end of 1990. The adoption of amendments to the name of our state and

amendments that determine the socialist nature of its social system were the most important decisions. However, the plenum did not lead the party out of its state of stupor. Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat decisions are still not having a serious impact on the activities of party committees, on life, or on the situation in the country. Neither the CPSU Central Committee nor the editors of PRAVDA are opposing the activation of antisocialist forces with anything serious. Communists are finding themselves unprotected and left to their own devices. And this is under conditions of a wave of permissiveness and the threat of physical annihilation of communists.

The question arises, with what did Moscow Party Gorkom oppose the January 20th antisocialist sabbath? Nothing. We must support the proposals of a number of veterans in order to express appropriate views to the party leadership.

The dramatic effect of the situation that has developed achieved its apogee at the USSR Supreme Soviet winter session when people's deputies demanded a report from the President on the situation in the country and the steps being taken to establish order and to improve food supplies. The passions that flared were concluded with the well-known presidential program of action and by the latest reorganization of executive power.

While speaking about the results of the RSFSR and USSR Congresses of People's Deputies, let us point out that a more active than previously position and better organization of the communist deputies was the primary distinguishing factor of the Russian Federation forum. The deputies insisted on calling Russia a socialist republic in the new Draft Constitution. The Congress also expressed its opinion with regard to personnel appointments and rejected a number of proposals by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman. So, one can ascertain that one can hardly speak about the unqualified support for any of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet leadership's proposals at the Congress.

The Soviet people expected a lot from the 4th USSR Congress of People's Deputies. It approved the President's program of action to overcome the crisis in the economy and in society, discussed the concept of the Union Treaty, reviewed the structure of presidential power, and amended the Constitution of the USSR. A decision was made to conduct nationwide referendums on the issues of the USSR and on private ownership of land.

We know how broadly the mass media advertised and encouraged its next attack by so-called "democratic forces" against the central authorities. However the "democrats" did not achieve all of their goals and they themselves are even talking about their temporary defeat. But everywhere we can see that destructive forces are extracting lessons: They have begun frantic activity locally in all directions, including conducting rallies, strikes, and increasing work in workers collectives.

Everything is being set into motion: Insinuations, misquoting facts, and even deception. In words, there is pluralism of opinions but in fact there is a taboo for speeches by dissidents at rallies, sessions, and in the press. In words, there is an appeal not to use force but in fact there is organization of combat detachments. In words, there is freedom and the guaranty of safety for the individual, but in fact there is terror against communists. Destructive forces are skillfully changing their methods, as they say, on the run. They move from appeals of "Down with the President!" to his active support when it suits them. The tactics are changing and attention is being concentrated on insuring influence in Soviets and workers collectives. The "democrats" of Moscow and Leningrad, who are generating the appropriate impulses at the periphery, are at the head of these destructive forces.

The impending referendum on the preservation of the USSR must determine the actual opinion of the population of each republic on the most important issue for the country's fate: Is the Soviet Union to be a great power or will it surrender its place to a divided group of states, having returned the people to the times of Ivan Kalita. Really the state, if it disintegrates from within, will die. Imperialism, having understood that it cannot defeat us with a frontal assault, is betting precisely on the internal split of the USSR.

The referendum on the issue of private ownership of land will determine the future social order of the state.

For the older generation, these issues are the cause of their entire lives. Veterans still feel the hot wind of the Great October Revolution that opened a new era of modern civilization and they know in what torment the new socialist state of workers and peasants was born. They remember the fiery years of the civil war and the foreign intervention against the young Republic of Soviets, collectivization, industrialization, and the tragic period of mass repression. Veterans know, and not through hearsay, how fatal the battle with Fascism—the "Plague of the 20th Century"—was. They saved their Homeland and the peoples of Europe from enslavement. Then in an unprecedented short period of time they reconstructed the economy that had been destroyed by the war and transformed the Soviet Union into a mighty power that is capable of defending not only itself but also its friends. We were proud of our victorious army, our science, education, and culture, and the achievements of our Homeland. And right now we say: To improve our socialist system—yes! To create human, democratic socialism directed toward man—yes! To democratize the party—yes! To use all forms of property under the priority of collective [property]—yes! This great socialist power was created by the hands of preceding generations and by our hands and no one should be permitted to tear it apart. Veterans will never reconcile themselves to the wholesale defiling of the entire history of the Soviet State by those who still yesterday were calling themselves Marxist-Leninists but who today yell louder than everyone and condemn the path we have taken, rename

streets and squares, and take down monuments to V.I. Lenin. The leaders of "Democratic Russia" and those like them are for the Union in words today but in fact are doing everything for its destruction and will openly repudiate the Union tomorrow. Behind these leaders stand forces who thirst for power and who understand that the union state, the army, the KGB, and the CPSU are the barriers to their goal. Today fire is also being concentrated against them.

The collapse of the Union (if this were to occur) would be a destructive blow against the forces of socialism, the working class, and the historical cause to which veterans have devoted their lives, blood, health, strength, and knowledge. The collapse of the Union could destabilize the international situation and destroy the system of international treaties.

Hence, there is only one possible way out—to struggle to preserve the Soviet Union as a single state. Only in the Union is the guarantee of the country's independence and the preservation of its prestige in the international arena. Only in the Union of sovereign republics can one discover the colossal potential capabilities of this enormous territory and its wealth. The national economic complex which was created 73 years ago is an indissoluble system of economic ties whose elimination will be fatal for the Union as a whole and for all of its subjects.

That is why veterans must conduct the required explanatory work not only in their own organizations but also among the broad strata of the population and first of all among the youth. No one, besides us, has endured both the calm and storm of our history. Veterans have a moral right to state the truth. Everywhere—in the mass media, at meetings, gatherings, and in conversations, in personal conversations among the population, etc.—they can and must boldly expose any attacks of extremists who structure their "arguments" on insinuations and slander.

If we talk about purely practical tasks, then we need to concentrate on the following:

1. To discuss these issues at plenums and at other forums of republic, kray, oblast, gorod [city], and rayon soviets, and with veterans in their homes and in their workers collectives.

2. The task consists of reaching every veteran in explanatory work, including those living in veterans homes and those who are in hospitals. We need to strive for each one of them to vote for the Union. To convince our own children, grandchildren, and friends and comrades of this.

The duty of veterans is to tell young people about that great work which was conducted in the country under the leadership of the CPSU to strengthen the friendship of peoples. Thousands of enthusiasts are still alive—doctors, teachers, engineers, and agronomists—who went to the villages and cities of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and to the Transcaucasus from Russia, Ukraine,

and Belorussia during the first years of Soviet rule to teach children to read, to cure local residents, and to assist them to master equipment. And during the years of the war, ten million Soviet people from the western oblasts were evacuated to areas of the Urals, Siberia, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and the local population gave them shelter and treated them like family.

3. We also need to be concerned that all categories of veterans are included in the composition of electoral commissions.

4. In connection with the emergency situation in a number of regions of the country (in the Baltics, Moldavia, and Georgia), the question naturally arises about what role local veterans organizations can play in the conduct of the referendum. It certainly is difficult to provide a general recommendation for everyone. One thing is clear: Veterans must decisively support the planned referendum and expose any substitution of it by local polls as they had resolved to do in Lithuania.

Western Republics

Belorussian Law on Local Self-Government Published

91UN11564 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 15 Mar 91 pp 2-4

[Belorussian SSR Law: "On Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the Belorussian SSR"]

[Text] The present law sets forth the system of and economic basis for local self-government in the Belorussian SSR and stipulates the foundations of the legal status of local organs of state authority and administration, organs of territorial public self-government and various forms of direct democracy.

1. General Principles

Article 1: The Concept of Local Self-Government

Local (territorial) self-government in the Belorussian SSR is a form for the organization of and activities by citizens for the purpose of independently resolving either directly or through state and public organs elected by them all social, economic, political and cultural matters of local significance based on the public interest and the specific characteristics of development of territorial administrative units and on the basis of the law, those units' own physical and financial base and outside assistance.

Article 2: The System of Local Self-Government

The system of local self-government includes local soviets of people's deputies and organs of territorial public self-government (soviets and committees in microrayons, housing complexes, building, street, district, settlement and village committees and other organs). Local self-government is also carried out by

means of local referendums and meetings (assemblies) of citizens and through other forms of direct democracy.

Local self-government is carried out within the boundaries of territorial administrative units: village soviets, settlements, urban rayons, cities, rayons and oblasts. Any changes in the boundaries of territorial administrative units are to be made according to procedures provided for by Belorussian SSR legislation with consideration given to the opinions of the local soviets whose interests will be affected by redrawing of territorial administrative boundaries.

Territorial administrative units which have the same name and a common administrative center may unite to form a single unit with the mutual consent of the local soviets involved and consideration given to the public interest, and in accordance with procedures set forth in Belorussian SSR legislation.

Article 3: Fundamental Principles of Local Self-Government

Local self-government is carried out based on the following fundamental principles:

1. people's power;
2. legality, social justice and humanism;
3. separation of powers between representative, executive and judicial authorities;
4. unity and integrity of the system of local self-government;
5. autonomy and independence for local soviets of people's deputies and other organs of local self-government within the bounds of their authority when resolving local matters;
6. electability of soviets and other organs of local self-government, and their accountability to the public;
7. glasnost, consideration for public opinion and ongoing public notification of decisions made in regard to important issues and the results of the implementation thereof;
8. combination of local and state interests and participation by organs of local self-government in resolution of problems by higher-level organs when those problems affect the interests of the people living in a given territory;
9. responsibility for compliance with the law and justification of decisions made.

Article 4: Legal Regulation of Local Self-Government

In accordance with the Belorussian SSR Declaration of State Sovereignty local self-government in the Belorussian SSR is to be organized and carried out on the basis of the Belorussian SSR Constitution, the present law and other Belorussian SSR legislative acts, as well as USSR

laws in regard to matters voluntarily transferred to USSR jurisdiction by the Belorussian SSR.

The present law also extends to military towns and settlements which are closed to the public.

II. Local Organs of State Authority and Administration

Article 5: Local Soviets of People's Deputies—The Fundamental Link in the System of Local Self-Government

Local soviets of people's deputies are representative organs of state authority within the territory of corresponding territorial administrative units in the Belorussian SSR and are the fundamental link in local self-government; they ensure coordinated operation of organs of territorial public self-government within their jurisdiction.

Village, settlement, urban rayon, city, rayon and oblast soviets comprise a unified system of Belorussian SSR local soviets. The unity of this system of local soviets is ensured by their common legal foundations, the principles of their formation and operations, and the tasks which they are called upon to perform in the interests of the people and the social and economic development of their territories.

The Belorussian SSR has established three territorial levels of local soviets: primary, basic and oblast.

The primary territorial level includes village, settlement, city (without rayon subdivision) and urban rayon soviets.

The basic territorial level includes city (with rayon subdivisions) and rayon soviets.

The oblast territorial level is comprised of oblast soviets. Minsk City Soviet possesses the rights of an oblast soviet.

Local soviets are corporate bodies.

Local soviets may be granted special status. The legal status of local soviets which have been granted special status is to be determined by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

In their operations local soviets act upon the interests of the citizens living within their territory and overall state interests, participate in discussion of matters of republic and union significance which affect the interests of territories under soviets' jurisdiction and make proposals on those matters which must mandatorily be considered by higher-level organs.

Article 6: Election of Local Soviets of People's Deputies

In accordance with the Belorussian SSR Constitution local soviets of people's deputies are elected by citizens living within the territory in question on the basis of a universal, equal and direct voting right and a secret ballot for a period of five years according to procedures

established by the Belorussian SSR Law "On Election of People's Deputies to Belorussian SSR Local Soviets of People's Deputies."

Article 7: Operations of Local Soviets of People's Deputies

Local soviets of people's deputies carry out their activities through sessions, presidiums, permanent and temporary commissions, executive committees and other soviet organs, as well as through the exercise by people's deputies of their authority in a legally established manner.

Local soviets determine independently in accordance with Belorussian SSR legislation the procedures governing their activities.

Local soviets are subordinate in their operations to the citizens living within their territories and are accountable to them. Soviets' operations are funded out of their corresponding local budgets.

Local soviets have a right:

1. to redistribute among themselves on the basis of mutual consent certain powers in the area of commercial and sociocultural building, along with the resources required to exercise those powers;
2. to transfer a portion of their powers to organs of territorial public self-government at the request of or with the consent of those organs;
3. to establish, reorganize or abolish territorial and interterritorial sector and intersector administrative organs established by them, approve their structure, staff and expenditures in accordance with the present law and other Belorussian SSR laws.

Matters affecting the interests of neighboring territories are to be resolved by the affected local soviets jointly.

Article 8: Sessions of Local Soviets of People's Deputies

1. The primary form of local soviet of people's deputies operations is a session [sessiya]. The first session of a newly-elected local soviet is convened by the corresponding territorial electoral commission if no fewer than two-thirds of people's deputies out of the total number set for the soviet in question have been elected.

A local soviet session should be conducted openly and publicized, with the exception of cases in which the soviet determines that it is essential that a closed session be held. A session constitutes a quorum if attended by at least two-thirds of the total number of elected people's deputies. Session decisions are made by a majority vote of the total number of people's deputies elected.

2. The following matters are to be considered and resolved solely at soviet sessions:

- 1. recognition of deputies' powers, premature termination of those powers in cases provided for under law, and deprivation of deputies' immunity;
- 2. election and dismissal of a soviet chairman and the chairman's deputies, or in village and settlement soviets, which do not form an executive committee, of the soviet's chairman, deputy chairman and secretary;
- 3. approval of the structure and staff of a soviet and its executive committee, and establishment of expenditures for the maintenance thereof;
- 4. formation of permanent and temporary local soviet commissions, confirmation of and changes in their composition, and election and dismissal of their chairmen;
- 5. formation of executive committees and approval of their membership;
- 6. formation of other administrative organs subordinate to soviets, approval of statutes regarding those organs, and appointment and dismissal of their heads;
- 7. consideration of accounts by the chairmen of soviets, permanent commissions, executive committees and other organs formed or elected by soviets, as well as by officials elected, appointed or confirmed by soviets;
- 8. repeal of decisions by a presidium, executive committee or lower-level soviet and acts by organs of territorial public self-government in the event that such decisions and acts are not in compliance with the law;
- 9. adoption of decisions and establishment of regulations which make provision for administrative penalties for violation thereof, in accordance with Belorussian SSR legislation;
- 10. election by oblast soviets and the Minsk City Soviet of judges of rayon (or city) people's courts, changes in their composition, and election of people's assessors in oblast courts (or Minsk City courts), in accordance with established procedures;
- 11. consideration of inquiries by people's deputies and the adoption of decisions in regard to them;
- 12. confirmation of a soviet's rules;
- 13. confirmation of actions to implement voter's instructions;
- 14. adoption of decisions regarding the conducting of local referendums within the soviet's territory according to procedures established by Belorussian SSR law;
- 15. confirmation of plans (programs) for territorial social and economic development and social protection and employment programs;

- 16. approval of budgets and reports regarding their implementation and distribution of additional budget funds and convertible currency funds;
- 17. establishment of and changes in the legal regulations concerning community property;
- 18. natural resource utilization;
- 19. resolution of matters pertaining to territorial administrative structure in accordance with procedures established by Belorussian SSR legislation;
- 20. adoptions of decisions regarding issuance of local loans and stocks and conducting of local lotteries and auctions;
- 21. establishment of local taxes, fees and duties and granting of tax exemptions at legally established levels and according to legally established procedures;
- 22. delegation of a portion of the soviet's powers to other soviets or organs of territorial public self-government.

3. No restrictions on the exclusive rights of local soviets listed in this article are permitted except for cases stipulated by law.

Article 9: Formation of the Organs of Local Soviets of People's Deputies

Local soviets of people's deputies form their own organs independently, determine their powers and establish their structure, their staff and expenditures for their upkeep in accordance with the present law and other Belorussian SSR laws.

A unified working apparatus should be established to provide organizational and technical support to the local soviet and its organs.

Article 10: Presidiums of Local Soviets of People's Deputies

1. Presidiums are formed within oblast, rayon, city and urban rayon soviets and the Minsk City Soviet. The work of city (cities subordinate to a rayon), settlement and village soviets is organized by the chairman of the soviet in question.

The presidium of a local soviet is comprised of the soviet chairman, his deputy and the chairmen of the soviet's permanent commissions. Other people's deputies may also be included on the presidium by a soviet decision.

The chairmen of permanent commissions and people's deputies who are members of a soviet presidium perform their duties without interruption of their primary official or production-related jobs.

The primary form of a soviet presidium's work is a session [zasedaniye].

A soviet presidium session is convened and conducted by the soviet chairman, or in his absence by the deputy

soviet chairman. Presidium decisions are made by a majority vote of presidium members. A presidium session has legal force if it is attended by at least two-thirds of its members.

2. A local soviet presidium:

- 1. convenes soviet sessions, reports to deputies and informs the public of the time and place of sessions, as well as the issues which will be submitted for consideration by the soviet and the decisions made in regard to those issues;
- 2. directs preparations for soviet sessions and the matters submitted for consideration by soviets;
- 3. coordinates the operations of permanent and temporary commissions and groups of deputies and submits proposals regarding the establishment of permanent soviet commissions for the soviet's consideration; monitors compliance with soviet decisions and voters' instructions via permanent and temporary commissions;
- 4. reports to the soviet on the state of affairs within the soviet's territory and other important matters, and informs the soviet of the presidium's activities;
- 5. renders assistance to deputies in the exercise of their authority and provides them with essential information;
- 6. renders assistance to deputies with the reception of citizens and preparation of reports to constituents and labor collectives;
- 7. submits to soviet sessions proposals regarding matters connected with exercise of deputies' rights and performance of their duties, including exemption of deputies from their official or production-related duties while working in the soviet, its organs or electoral districts;
- 8. summarizes voters' instructions, transmits them to the executive committee and permanent commissions for conclusions and submits them for the soviet's consideration;
- 9. organizes interaction by the soviet within its territory with public associations, labor collectives and organs of territorial public self-government;
- 10. ensures glasnost regarding the soviet's work;
- 11. organizes preparations for and conducting of local referendums in accordance with soviet decisions, citizen discussion of the soviet's decisions and other highly important matters of local, republic and union significance; ensures broad participation by labor collectives, public organizations and citizens in the development, adoption and implementation of decisions on matters of local significance;
- 12. ensures consideration of complaints, comments and citizens' appeals received by the soviet.

- 13. considers matters pertaining to awards and incentives for labor collectives, outstanding production workers and individual citizens within the limits of the soviet's authority and submits proposals to the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet regarding the awarding of state awards and incentives;
- 14. performs its legally established tasks in regard to organization of elections of people's deputies. In cases provided for by law it submits for the soviet's consideration matters pertaining to premature termination of deputies' powers;
- 15. may instruct people's deputies to inspect the operations of state and public organizations, enterprises, institutions and organizations located within the soviet's territory in regard to matters which fall under the soviet's jurisdiction. Based on the findings of such inspections it submits proposals to appropriate organs regarding elimination of the shortcomings discovered, repeal of illegal decisions, and penalties for individuals guilty of violating state discipline and laws;
- 16. accepts for consideration inquiries directed to it and responds to such inquiries in the manner and within the time limits established by law;
- 17. transmits drafts of soviet decisions to the appropriate permanent commissions for their consideration;
- 18. submits proposals regarding statements and complaints in regard to the executive committee's decisions and actions to soviet sessions for consideration.

Local soviet presidiums do not have a right to interfere with the authority or day-to-day administrative operations of executive committees or to usurp their authority.

Decisions by local soviet presidiums on matters not placed under their jurisdiction by the present law are invalid and not subject to implementation.

Article 11: The Chairman of a Local Soviet of People's Deputies

1. The chairman of a local soviet of people's deputies is the highest official in a given oblast, rayon, city, urban rayon, settlement or village soviet.

The chairman of a local soviet of people's deputies serves simultaneously as chairman of the soviet's executive committee.

A soviet chairman is elected from among the people's deputies at a session of the corresponding soviet on a secret ballot and performs his duties until such time as the chairman of the next convocation of that soviet is elected.

A soviet chairman may not occupy the position of chairman for more than two consecutive terms.

A soviet chairman is considered elected if he receives the votes of over one-half of all the people's deputies elected to a given soviet.

In his work the soviet chairman is subordinate to the soviet which elected him and can be dismissed by that soviet; on matters of executive and administrative actions he is also subordinate to the higher-level executive and administrative organ.

A soviet chairman may be elected or recalled by the public directly according to procedures established by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Performance of any other official duties concurrently with those of soviet chairman is not permitted.

2. The chairman of a local soviet:

- 1. serves as guarantor of the people's rights and freedoms and the Belorussian SSR constitution and Belorussian SSR laws within the soviet's territory;
- 2. nominates at a soviet session for election on either a secret or an open ballot from among the people's deputies candidates for the position of deputy soviet chairman; in settlement and village soviets, which do not form executive committees, the chairman also nominates candidates for soviet secretary;
- 3. heads the soviet's presidium and executive committee, oversees their interaction and coordinates the operations of departments, administrations and other subsections of the executive committee;
- 4. submits for the soviet's consideration proposals regarding candidates for the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee, administrator of affairs and members of the executive committee;
- 5. represents the soviet and its executive committee in their relations with other state organs, organs of territorial public self-government, enterprises, organizations and individual citizens;
- 6. presents to a soviet session and to the public as needed but not less than once a year accounts regarding his activities and at the request of deputies and citizens informs them of the state of affairs in the territory under the soviet's jurisdiction;
- 7. organizes work connected with the convocation of and preparation for soviet sessions, sessions of its presidium and executive committee, conducts their sessions (chairs them), and monitors implementation of past decisions;
- 8. signs decisions and minutes of sessions of the soviet, its presidium and its executive committee and issues dispositions within the limits of his authority;
- 9. serves as manager of credits for expenditures provided for in the budget as well as nonbudgetary funds.

- 10. performs other functions placed under the presidium's jurisdiction by the present law in soviets which do not form presidiums.

Article 12: The Deputy Chairman of a Local Soviet of People's Deputies

The deputy chairman of a local soviet of people's deputies is elected by the soviet from among the people's deputies at the recommendation of the soviet chairman for the full term of the soviet's mandate on a secret or open ballot and performs his duties until the election of the deputy chairman of the soviet's new convocation.

The soviet deputy chairman is considered elected if over one-half of the total number of elected people's deputies in the soviet in question vote for him.

Within the bounds of the authority granted to him the deputy soviet chairman organizes the activities of the soviet and its organs, except for the executive committee, substitutes for the soviet chairman in regard to the soviet's work during the former's absence or inability to perform his duties.

The deputy chairman of the soviet may be dismissed only by the soviet.

Article 13: Permanent Commissions of a Local Soviet of People's Deputies

Permanent commissions are elected at soviet sessions from among all the people's deputies of a local soviet for the purpose of carrying out preliminary consideration and preparation of issues which fall under the jurisdiction of local soviets of people's deputies, as well as monitoring the implementation of decisions by the soviet and higher-level state organs.

The recommendations of permanent commissions are subject to consideration by the appropriate state and public organs and organizations. The results of such consideration and measures subsequently taken should be reported to the commission within a specified time period.

Article 14: The Executive Committee of a Local Soviet of People's Deputies

1. The executive and managerial organ of a local soviet of people's deputies is the executive committee, which has the rights of a corporate body and is formed by a given local soviet and retains its powers until the formation of a new executive committee and confirmation of its membership by the next convocation of the soviet.

The executive committee of a local soviet of people's deputies is comprised of the deputy chairman (chairmen) of the executive committee, the administrator of affairs (in village, settlement and city (cities subordinate to rayons) soviets the ispolkom secretary) and the members of the executive committee.

Deputies from the corresponding soviet may also be members of a soviet's executive committee.

Oblast, rayon, city (except for cities subordinate to rayons) and urban rayon soviets elect the first deputy executive committee chairman.

The first deputy executive committee chairman performs duties specified in Paragraph 2 of the present article at the request of the soviet chairman and substitutes for the soviet chairman in the event of his absence or inability to perform his executive and administrative duties.

Village and settlement soviets may in view of their population and number of deputies choose not to form an executive committee. In that case the soviet chairman performs the functions of executive power and is directly subordinate to the soviet which elected him in regard to matters of executive and administrative action, and also subordinate to the executive committee of a higher-level soviet.

A soviet's executive committee performs its functions in accordance with the present law and the laws of the Belorussian SSR regarding local soviets of people's deputies, with consideration for the specific nature of the territorial administrative unit's development.

An executive committee resolves all administrative matters under the soviet's jurisdiction except for those which are delegated to the soviet exclusively.

The executive committee of a local soviet is directly subordinate both to the soviet which elected it and to a higher-level executive and administrative organ within the bounds of the latter's authority.

The executive committee of a local soviet of people's deputies makes decisions and issues dispositions within the limits of its authority. Decisions by an executive committee are adopted by a simply majority vote of the executive committee's confirmed membership and are signed by the soviet chairman and the administrator of affairs (secretary) of the executive committee.

Executive committee sessions are convened by the soviet chairman as necessary but no less frequently than once a month; attendance by at least two-thirds of the executive committee's confirmed membership constitutes a quorum.

An executive committee shall report to the soviet which elected it not less than once a year, and shall also give reports at meetings of labor collectives and at citizens' places of residence.

2. A local soviet executive committee:

- 1. develops and submits to the soviet a diagram for management of the local economy and community property, proposals regarding protection of public

order and citizens' rights, and a list of the departments, administrations and other subsections required by the executive committee;

- 2. develops and submits to the soviet draft plans for economic and social development, local programs and the local budget and takes steps to implement plans, programs and the budget, and reports to the soviet regarding their realization;
- 3. oversees implementation of decisions by the soviet and higher-level state organs, its own decisions and voters' instructions;
- 4. oversees the receipt of budgetary and other revenues by the local soviet and their utilization as planned;
- 5. manages the soviet's property and financial resources according to procedures and within limits determined by the soviet;
- 6. submits to the soviet proposals regarding the formation, reorganization or elimination of enterprises, organizations and institutions belonging to its territorial administrative unit as community property;
- 7. concludes lease contracts and other commercial contracts with corporate bodies and individuals;
- 8. coordinates the means of enterprises, organizations and institutions, with the consent of their owners, and oversees their degree of participation in the social and economic development of the soviet's territory;
- 9. according to procedures established by law carries out state monitoring of environmental protection of air, water, forests, underground resources, flora and fauna within the soviet's territory, and also monitors the condition of facilities which are community property;
- 10. terminates commercial activity or construction of facilities in the event that such activity or construction violates environmental protection legislation or other laws, and submits corresponding proposals to the soviet;
- 11. directs departments and administrations and other subsections of the executive committee and organizations under its control. During the period between sessions it appoints interim heads of departments, administrations and other subsections of the executive committee and dismisses those heads, with such decisions to be subsequently submitted to the soviet for confirmation. It appoints and dismisses other leaders of the executive committee apparatus and heads of organizations under its control according to a list of positions approved by the soviet;
- 12. within the bounds of its authority it repeals orders issued by the heads of departments and administrations and other heads of the soviet's executive organs

if they were issued in violation of the law or are contrary to decisions by the soviet and the executive committee;

- 13. may accept for consideration matters under the jurisdiction of its departments, administrations and other subsections of the executive committee;
- 14. forms commissions in regard to aspects of its work, defines their powers and guides their operations;
- 15. takes steps to ensure and protect the interests of the territory and of the local economy in judicial and arbitration organs, as well as before higher-level administrative organs;
- 16. makes decisions designed to ensure the rights and legitimate interests of citizens, oversees reception of the public by the leaders of the executive committee, departments and administrations, considers citizens' complaints, appeals and suggestions and makes decisions in regard to them;
- 17. oversees explanation of legislation and provides legal assistance to the public;
- 18. renders necessary assistance to the executive committees of lower-level soviets;
- 19. helps develop folk traditions and customs within the soviet's territory;
- 20. oversees civil defense within the soviet's territory. In the case of natural disasters it takes measures to save lives and protect property;
- 21. ensures compliance with the USSR Law on Universal Military Obligation by all officials and citizens, as well as by enterprises, organizations and institutions located within the soviet's territory;
- 22. aids electoral commissions in the exercise of their authority with regard to preparations for and conducting of elections of USSR people's deputies, Belorussian SSR people's deputies and local soviets, as well as the conducting of referendums;
- 23. upon instructions from the soviet resolves other matters which fall under that soviet's jurisdiction.

3. The executive committee of a local soviet is independent in its choice of forms and methods for overseeing compliance with the soviet's decisions, as well as those of higher-level organs of state authority and administration.

Interference by other organs formed by the local soviet in the day-to-day administrative work of the executive committee is not permitted.

Article 15: Authority of Local Soviets of People's Deputies

Local soviets of people's deputies have a right to resolve independently any and all matters which are placed

under their jurisdiction by the present law, the laws of the Belorussian SSR regarding local soviets of people's deputies and other Belorussian SSR legislative acts. The authority of village, settlement, urban rayon, city, rayon and oblast (including Minsk City) soviets is established by corresponding Belorussian SSR legislation throughout the soviet's entire territory, with consideration given to the natural, social, economic, ethnic and other characteristics of territorial administrative units and a given soviet's capacity to independently exercise such authority, and cannot be changed by any means except by law.

Local soviets coordinate the operations of the entire system of local self-government, direct to the extent of their authority state, commercial and sociocultural building within their territory, ensure balanced development of their territory, work to preserve and multiply natural resources and community property and utilize them efficiently, work to protect the environment, ensure compliance with laws, protection for state and public order, citizens' rights and legitimate interests, and compliance with the USSR Law on Universal Military Obligation.

Local soviets appoint and dismiss the heads of organizations which form part of the community property of their territorial administrative unit, and also make well-founded proposals to appropriate organs regarding the dismissal of the heads of other organizations located within their territory.

Other powers not provided for by Belorussian SSR law are to be exercised by a soviet solely on the basis of agreement with other state organs and organs of local self-government and on the condition that the rights and legitimate interests of all parties are protected.

Soviets are independent within the bounds of their authority.

Decisions by soviets and their executive and administrative organs made within the bounds of their authority are obligatory for lower-level soviets and their executive and administrative organs.

Article 16: Special Characteristics of the Authority of Local Soviets of People's Deputies at the Primary Territorial Level

1. The authority of local soviets of people's deputies at the primary territorial level extends to:

—1. development and independent approval of plans for economic and social development, programs regarding housing construction, provision of municipal services, road construction and other matters pertaining to provision of municipal, social and cultural services to the public, environmental protection, oversight and monitoring of compliance with such plans and programs, and confirmation of accounts regarding implementation of plans and programs;

—2. independent development, approval and implementation of budgets, with amendments in budgets to be made as necessary; distribution of budgetary funds by expenditure items, and approval of reports concerning implementation of the budget;

—3. organization of the collection of taxes, fees and other sources of revenue provided for by law;

—4. establishment of legal procedures governing property which is a part of the community property of the territorial administrative unit in question;

—5. resolution according to established procedures of matters pertaining to privatization of state property or its combination with other forms of property;

—6. issuing of consent for the siting and development within the soviet's territory of enterprises, commercial organizations and institutions which are not part of the community property of the territorial administrative unit in question;

—7. management and monitoring of use of lands owned by the soviet as well as underground resources, water, forests, hunting and fishing areas and other natural resources on those lands;

—8. participation in the development, approval and realization of the planning and construction of population centers, general plans for them and architectural designs; monitoring of compliance with standards (including local standards) during construction of any facilities within the soviet's territory;

—9. oversight of construction and repair of housing, municipal service facilities, social and cultural facilities and roads belonging to the soviet using the soviet's own funds or paid for in part with such funds; recruitment of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other enterprises and organizations for road construction according to established procedures;

—10. day-to-day management of housing, municipal services, trade enterprises, public food service enterprises, consumer service facilities and social and cultural facilities which belong to the soviet or have been transferred to it on a contractual basis;

—11. establishment of units to preserve public order in accordance with Belorussian SSR legislation, to be paid for either in part or in full with soviet funds;

—12. granting of exemptions, assistance payments and other benefits to individuals and corporate bodies within the bounds of its authority;

—13. implementation within the soviet's territory of laws and other acts by higher-level state organs and monitoring of compliance with them by all organizations and citizens within the soviet's territory;

—14. protection for citizens' rights and freedoms;

—15. protection of folk traditions and customs;

—16. performance of other tasks within bounds established by Belorussian SSR legislation.

2. The authority of local soviets of people's deputies in cities subordinate to oblasts (but not subdivided into rayons) and urban rayons includes the following:

—1. approval of planning and estimate documentation, assignments to do such work, itemized lists for planning and surveying work and newly restarted projects paid for out of a city budget; monitoring of compliance on construction projects taking place within the soviet's territory with planning decisions and the approved general work plan; establishment of city and urban rayon cost-accounting repair and construction enterprises;

—2. direction of subordinate internal affairs organs and environmental protection agencies and establishment in accordance with Belorussian SSR legislation of units to protect public order, using either the soviet's own funds or on a partial payment basis;

—3. assistance to organs of the court, the procuracy, the legal profession, state arbitration and state notary offices with their work; supervision of the work of corrective labor facilities;

—4. direction of the work of corresponding public registry office and state archives organs;

—5. establishment in accordance with the law of a tax rate on profits made by enterprises and other local commercial facilities which are the community property of the city or urban rayon, local taxes, fees and duties within the bounds established by law, as well as rates for payment of consumer, municipal, transportation and other services, unless such have rates have been established by higher-level state organs.

Article 17: Special Characteristics of the Authority of Local Soviets of People's Deputies at the Basic Territorial Level

1. The authority of local self-government at the basic territorial level extends to:

—1. development and independent approval of plans for economic and social development, regional programs in regard to economic, sociocultural and ecological issues of city-wide or rayon-wide significance, and monitoring of the implementation of those plans and programs;

—2. consideration of plans for the siting, development and specialization of enterprises (associations) and social and cultural facilities of various property types, issuance of findings in regard to them, and if necessary submission of proposals to the appropriate administrative organs;

—3. submission of proposals regarding draft oblast plans for socioeconomic development and interregional programs, as well as in regard to the plans of enterprises

and organizations within the territory of the city or the rayon in connection with the public's needs and social development of territories;

—4. independent development, approval and implementation of the city or rayon budget, with amendments to be made as necessary; distribution of budget funds to the various areas of expenditure, and approval of reports regarding implementation of the budget;

—5. establishment in accordance with the law of a tax rate on profits made by enterprises and other local commercial facilities which are part of the community property of the city or rayon, local taxes, fees and duties within limits established by law, as well as rates for the payment of consumer, municipal, transportation and other services, unless such rates have been established by higher-level state organs;

—6. levying of taxes, fees and duties, and receipt of other financial revenues as stipulated by law;

—7. determination of legal standards and regulations governing the use of property which is part of the community property of the territorial administrative unit in question;

—8. management and control over the use of land, underground resources, water, forests, hunting and fishing areas and other natural resources possessed by the city or rayon soviet, as well as such resources which have been turned over for use by enterprises and organizations.

—9. monitoring of compliance with environmental protection legislation by all land users within the territory in question;

—10. preparation and approval of diagrams and plans for rayon planning and general plans for the development of the city or rayon center;

—11. approval of plans and itemized lists in regard to construction projects under the jurisdiction of the city or rayon, as well as monitoring of compliance with the approved construction plans; termination of construction being carried out in violation of building plans and approved projects;

—12. establishment of city and rayon cost-accounting and repair and construction enterprises;

—13. supervision of the construction, repair, condition and use of housing, municipal and consumer service facilities, trade facilities and social and cultural facilities belonging to the territorial administrative unit in question or transferred on a contractual basis;

—14. administration of social and cultural facilities belonging to the city or rayon soviet or received by the soviet on the basis of an agreement with other soviets;

- 15. resolution within the bounds of its authority of matters pertaining to social services for the public and priority development of rural areas;
- 16. enforcement of compliance with citizens' rights and freedoms and implementation within the soviet's territory of laws and other acts by higher-level state organs, and monitoring of compliance therewith by all enterprises, organizations and citizens located within the soviet's territory;
- 17. direction of subordinate internal affairs and environmental protection organs, establishment in accordance with Belorussian SSR legislation of units to preserve public order, using either the soviet's funds or on a shared payment basis;
- 18. assistance to organs of the court, the procuracy, the legal profession, state arbitration and state notary offices with their work; supervision of the operations of corrective labor facilities within the city or rayon;
- 19. direction of the work of rayon state registry organs and rayon state archives;
- 20. consideration of matters connected with the formation and dissolution of village soviets, changes in their boundaries, acceptance of population centers for state recognition and removal from state recognition, and formation and dissolution of rayons within cities in accordance with current legislation.

2. A city (in cities with rayon subdivisions) or rayon soviet has a right to turn over the exercise of certain powers placed under its jurisdiction by the present law to urban rayon, city (in cities subordinate to rayons), village and settlement soviets on a contractual basis, as well as to turn over certain community property facilities within a city or rayon to their administration and to define the terms under which the soviets in question are to exercise the rights thus granted to them and to monitor compliance with those terms.

Article 18: Special Features of the Authority of Local Soviets at the Oblast Territorial Level

The following falls under the jurisdiction of local soviets of people's deputies at the oblast territorial level:

- 1. development and realization of plans for the social and economic development of oblasts and the city of Minsk, interregional programs and measures, and supervision of the exercise of powers delegated to local soviets at the basic territorial level;
- 2. development and approval of oblast (Minsk City) budgets and accounts regarding their implementation, and assistance in cases stipulated by law with the balancing of budgets in territorial administrative units within the territory of the oblasts or the city of Minsk;
- 3. management of commercial, social and cultural facilities which are part of their community property;

- 4. provision of services to meet the needs and demands of cities and rayons located within their territories via their own commercial organizations and major social and cultural facilities on a cost-accounting or other basis;
- 5. drafting and distribution on a contractual basis of orders to enterprises and organizations, regardless of their subordination or form of ownership, to supply products (or to perform work or render services) to meet local needs;
- 6. rendering of organizational and methodological assistance to local soviets of people's deputies at the basic and primary territorial levels with the development of regional development programs, national culture policy and demographic policy;
- 7. enforcement of law and order and public safety in connection with the exercise of local self-government;
- 8. resolution of matters pertaining to the formation, dissolution or change of boundaries of rural rayons and granting of the status of cities subordinate to rayons (or oblasts) to population centers in accordance with current legislation;
- 9. regulation of land relations within the bounds of the authority specified by Belorussian SSR Land Legislation;
- 10. the right to legislative initiative in the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet;
- 11. resolution of other matters of oblast-wide and city-wide significance, unless such action would infringe upon the independence of soviets at other levels in regard to the exercise of their authority.

Article 19: Premature Termination of the Powers (Dissolution) of a Local Soviet of People's Deputies

The powers of a local soviet of people's deputies may be prematurely terminated if:

- 1. the voters express a lack of confidence in the soviet by means of a referendum;
- 2. on no fewer than three occasions in a row the soviet has been unable to convene in session due to deputies' failure to appear without justifiable cause;
- 3. the soviet has not formed its organs within two months after the date its first session was convened;
- 4. the soviet does not implement laws and resolutions adopted by a higher organ of republic state authority.

The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet may pass a resolution dissolving a local soviet and setting a date for new elections to that soviet based on the findings of a specially formed commission.

III. Organs of Territorial Public Self-Government and Forms of Direct Democracy

Article 20: General Principles

Organs of territorial public self-government organize their operations in accordance with the legislation of the Belorussian SSR and their charters (or statutes). Organs of territorial public self-government and local soviets of people's deputies may conclude contracts between themselves regarding the transfer of certain powers and the property of the latter in order to exercise self-government within a given territory and regarding guarantees concerning the exercise of those powers.

Organs of territorial public self-government are established on the basis of a voluntary expression of citizens' will at their initiative or at the initiative of a local soviet.

The borders of the territory within which organs of territorial public self-government function are established by the appropriate soviet based on the social and economic cohesion of the territory and with consideration given to suggestions from the public, public organizations and labor collectives.

Organs of territorial public self-government perform their functions in close contact with soviets, their organs, people's deputies, labor collectives and public organizations.

Coordination of the activities of various organs of territorial public self-government is carried out by the corresponding soviet.

Organs of territorial public self-government may in accordance with Belorussian SSR legislation assume the rights of corporate bodies, conduct commercial activity and establish enterprises (or associations) and organizations according to established procedures.

Organs of territorial public self-government bear independent responsibility for compliance with contractual and financial discipline. Soviets and their organs are not responsible for the property obligations of organs of territorial public self-government.

Article 21: Procedures for Formation of Organs of Territorial Public Self-Government

Organs of territorial public self-government are elected by either open or secret balloting at citizens' meetings (assemblies) or meetings of their authorized representatives for the same term as the local soviet of people's deputies or for a different term determined by the meeting (assembly).

Citizens over the age of 16 who live within the territory in question may vote at these meetings (assemblies).

Meetings (assemblies) held to elect organs of territorial public self-government constitute a quorum if they are attended by not less than one-half of all residents.

meetings of authorized representatives constitute a quorum if attended by at least two-thirds of the authorized representatives.

Decisions of a meeting (assembly) are adopted by a majority vote of those in attendance.

The structure, operating procedures and numerical composition of organs of territorial public self-government are determined by the meeting (assembly).

Individual over the age of 18 who live in the territory in question may be elected as members of organs of territorial public self-government.

Candidates for organs of territorial public self-government may be nominated by the residents themselves, by local soviets, by labor collectives and by public associations of citizens.

An auditing commission may be elected by a citizens' meeting (assembly).

Article 22: Basic Powers of Organs of Territorial Public Self-Government

Organs of territorial public self-government bear responsibility for the state of socioeconomic development within their territory within the bounds of the rights and obligations established for them by the present law and other Belorussian SSR legislation, as well as by voluntarily assumed obligations delegated to them by local soviets of people's deputies; they work to organize public recreation, preserve law and order, protect the rights of consumers of goods and services and assist in charitable activity.

Organs of territorial public self-government have a right:

- 1. to submit for the consideration of local soviets and their organs proposals regarding all matters of local importance under the soviets' jurisdiction and to participate in consideration of those matters;
- 2. to call meetings (assemblies) of citizens and discuss local matters;
- 3. to participate in the formation of local state and public organs in cases specified by law;
- 4. to pool earned income and voluntary contributions from citizens, enterprises, institutions, public organizations and other citizens' associations in order to develop the territory's social infrastructure;
- 5. to accept housing and other structures, playground and athletic fields, clubs, public amenities, historical and cultural monuments and other facilities from soviets, enterprises (associations), organizations and institutions for public maintenance;
- 6. to carry out public monitoring of the work of local social and cultural facilities and enterprises in the public service realm and to submit for soviets' consideration proposals regarding the location of trade, food

service and consumer service enterprises, health care, educational, cultural, physical culture and sports facilities and other facilities in the social realm, and to determine regulations governing their operation.

Article 23: Citizens' Meetings (Assemblies) at Places of Residence

Citizens meetings (assemblies) at places of residence are convened as necessary by local soviets of people's deputies, their organs and organs of territorial public self-government.

In order to make preparations for a citizens' meeting (assembly) an organizational committee may be formed or an initiative group established at the suggestion of the local soviet.

At their meetings citizens discuss matters of state and local significance, make suggestions regarding them and make direct decisions on the most important matter of local interest; take part in realization of the functions of organs of local self-government; evaluate the work of organs of local self-government; and resolve other issues in accordance with current legislation.

Citizens' meetings (assemblies) at places of residence submit proposals to local soviets and their organs, other state and public organs, enterprises (associations), organizations and institutions.

Citizens' meetings (assemblies) at places of residence have a right to make decisions regarding premature termination of the powers (dissolution) of organs of territorial public self-government in cases where those organs ignore decisions by a soviet or its executive committee or do not exercise their powers for a period of one year.

Article 24: Local Referendums

The most important matters of local interest may be decided by referendums. Participation in referendums is free and based on the democratic principles of election law. Procedures for the conducting of referendums are established by the Law on People's Voting (Referendums) in the Belorussian SSR.

IV. The Economic Foundation of Local Self-Government

Article 25: The Concept of the Economic Foundation of Local Self-Government

The economic foundation of local self-government consists of natural resources (land, underground resources, water, forests, flora and fauna), community property and other property which serve as a source of revenue for local self-government and meet the social and economic needs of the population of a given territory.

Article 26: The Rights of Local Soviets of People's Deputies To Manage Natural Resources

Local soviets of people's deputies possess the right to manage the land and other natural resources within their territory in accordance with Belorussian SSR legislation.

The right of local soviets to manage land and other natural resources is exercised by making these things available in a legal manner for use by enterprises, organizations, agencies and citizens. The subjects of commercial activities pay local soviets for the use of natural resources and also compensate for any environmental damage caused as a result of their actions.

Article 27: The Local Economy and Its Composition

The local economy ensures the functioning of the system of local self-government and direct fulfillment of the needs of the people living within the territory of a local soviet.

The local economy consists of enterprises, organizations and institutions, including facilities in the social and production-related infrastructure, which are the community property of a territorial administrative unit.

The composition of the local economy may with the consent of the owners include enterprises, organizations and institutions which are not community property yet whose operations are intended primarily to meet the needs of the local population.

A list of enterprises, organizations and institutions which comprise the local economy is established based on contracts between the soviets in question and other property owners.

The composition and structure of components of the local economy may change as market relationships, free enterprise and privatization of property progress.

Local soviets coordinate the activities of enterprises, organizations and institutions in the local economy, ensure comprehensive social and economic development of the territory, and help establish concerns, consortiums, interbranch organizations, associations and joint ventures and help develop cooperatives, leasing and other progressive forms of business.

Within the bounds of their authority local soviets may grant the enterprises, organizations and institutions which comprise the local economy a priority right to use of land and other local natural resources and help supply physical and technical resources for the support of their commercial activities out of locally available stocks.

Article 28: Community Property

Community property is property which belongs to a given territorial administrative unit and serves as a source of revenue for local budgets and helps meet the public's social and economic needs. The disposition and management of community property are carried out on

behalf of the people of a given territorial administrative unit by the appropriate soviets of people's deputies and their authorized organs. The composition and structure of organs authorized by local soviets, the size of their staff and expenditures for their upkeep are to be determined independently by local soviets.

Community property may include property belonging to organs of state authority and administration in the territorial administrative unit in question, local budget funds, housing and municipal service facilities belonging to soviets, and industrial, construction-related and agricultural enterprises, trade and consumer service enterprises, transport, industrial, construction and other enterprises, public educational facilities, cultural, physical culture and sports facilities, health care and social security facilities and other property essential to the functioning and development of a given region.

Community property also encompasses property transferred to soviets without compensation by the USSR, the Belorussian SSR and other parties, as well as property created or obtained by soviets and other organs of local self-government using funds belonging to them, including property located outside the boundaries of the territorial administrative unit in question.

Local soviets have a right to transfer community property facilities for the purpose of temporary or permanent use and possession, to lease them, and to sell them to enterprises, organizations, institutions and private citizens and their associations except in cases stipulated by Belorussian SSR legislation, and also to redistribute existing community property on a contractual basis, including by means of competitive bidding.

Local soviets have a right to make proposals regarding the transfer or sale into the community property of certain territorial administrative units, organizations, their structural subunits and other facilities which exist under a different form of ownership, if they are of especially great significance in regard to ensuring municipal and consumer services and meeting the public's social and cultural needs within a given territory or ensuring the proper functioning of the local economy.

Local soviets possess a priority right to acquire public buildings, installations and other facilities which are located within their territories and could be used for local needs, according to procedures established by law. All other things being equal, this right also belongs to lower-level soviets.

Procedures governing the transfer, purchase, sale and inventorying of state property transferred without compensation to local soviets and other organs of local self-government as well as division of soviets' property are to be established by Belorussian SSR legislation.

In the event that disputes arise between local soviets of equal territorial status regarding the ownership of community property facilities such disputes will be settled

within one month's time by a higher-level soviet or, at its instructions, by an executive and administrative organ.

In the event of disagreement with the decision of a higher-level soviet a final decision will be made by the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers within the same time limit.

In order to protect the interests of the people living within their territory local soviets may establish mandatory terms of possession and use in regard to community property facilities alienated to other property owners, including through competitions or auctions.

Article 29: Relationships Between Local Soviets of People's Deputies and Enterprises, Organizations, Institutions and Other Corporate Bodies

1. The nature of relations between local soviets of people's deputies and enterprises, organizations, institutions and other corporate bodies is determined by the type of ownership under which they function.

Commercial relations between local soviets and enterprises, organizations, institutions and other corporate bodies are based on contracts and taxation.

Local soviets oversee the interaction of enterprises, organizations, institutions and other corporate bodies which are not part of the local economy with a view toward ensuring the comprehensive social and economic development of their territories.

All enterprises, organizations and institutions and other corporate bodies (except for budgetary organizations which do not engage in commercial activity) located within a given territory make payments into the monthly budget in accordance with established procedures.

2. Local soviets have a right:

—1. to utilize the means of enterprises, organizations and institutions with the consent of their property owners and combine them with budget resources for the purpose of social development of their corresponding territories;

—2. to establish standards governing participation by enterprises, organizations, institutions and other corporate bodies in the establishment of environmental protection facilities (taking into consideration their actual need for such facilities) and to recruit their for joint efforts to create such facilities.

Article 30: Planning of a Territory's Socioeconomic Development

Local soviets of people's deputies independently develop and approve plans (programs) for the socioeconomic development of their territories within the bounds of their authority, based on the public interest and protection of the environment and historical heritage, taking into consideration available physical, financial and labor resources and making maximum use of local capabilities and untapped production resources.

On the basis of mutual agreements local soviets may develop plans and make joint decisions regarding the development of several territorial administrative units.

Organizations, regardless of their jurisdictional subordination or form of ownership, are required in the process of planning and realization of commercial activity to obtain the consent of the appropriate soviets for measures which could cause ecological, social, demographic and other consequences affecting the interests of the public and the region.

Article 31: Material-Technical Supply and Exchange of Goods Between Territories

The material-technical supply of organs of local self-government and facilities which comprise the local economy is carried out on terms of complete economic independence on the part of those who participate in commercial activity on the basis of direct contracts concluded between them, as well as by means of wholesale and retail trade according to established procedures.

In cases of centralized supply the physical resources required for the socioeconomic development of a region, public services, construction, environmental protection and meeting of other local needs are allocated to local soviets by the appropriate Belorussian SSR organs.

The exchange of goods between territories is carried out based on openness of regional markets. Local soviets do not have a right to introduce administrative restrictions on the import or export of goods and products across the boundaries of their territories, unless otherwise stipulated by Belorussian SSR legislation.

Article 32: Participation in Foreign Economic Relations

1. Locals soviets of people's deputies oversee foreign economic relations and participate in them based on the principles of convertible-currency self-support in accordance with the laws of the Belorussian SSR.

Local soviets facilitate expansion of the foreign economic ties of the enterprises, organizations and institutions located within their territory, development of the export base and expansion of production of goods (or work and services) which are competitive on the foreign market.

2. Local soviets and organs created by them have a right:

- 1. to conclude contracts with foreign partners regarding the sale and acquisition of goods using available convertible currency funds or on another basis;
- 2. to establish joint ventures to produce technical and production-related goods and consumer goods and to render services to the public; to participate in the establishment of joint scientific, cultural, tourist, athletic and therapeutic centers with foreign partners, as well as other organizations pertaining to economic and scientific-technical collaboration and intended to help

supply the social and production-related realms with modern equipment and the means of mechanization for housing and municipal services and agricultural processing enterprises, develop their infrastructure and conduct international trade fairs, exhibitions and other events on a commercial basis, and develop advertising.

—3. to organize border-zone trade;

—4. to submit to the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet proposals regarding the establishment of free enterprise zones.

Article 33: Financial Resources

The financial resources of local self-government consist of the budgetary and nonbudgetary funds of local soviets of people's deputies, as well as the funds of organs of territorial public self-government. In cases of insufficient funding provision is made for subsidies from a higher-level budget. Organs of local self-government may also receive subventions from a higher-level budget according to established procedures for the purpose of carrying out special programs and events. Allocation of funding to local self-government budgets takes place based on the need for improvement of the commercial structure, regional development and regional policy according to procedures established by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 34: Local Budgets

Local soviets of people's deputies draft, approve and implement budgets independently in the public interest.

The local budgets of lower-level territorial administrative units are not included in the budgets of higher-level territorial administrative units. Interference by higher-level organs and organizations in the process of drafting, approving and implementing local budgets is not permitted.

The minimum size of local budgets is to be determined on the basis of standard budget allocations per capita and other social standards.

Budget standards are established by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet based on the economic situation throughout the republic as a whole and the socioeconomic condition of specific territorial administrative units.

Local budgets whose own revenue base is insufficient to cover planned expenditures will have established for them a standard amount of funding from overall state revenues and taxes levied within their corresponding territories.

The principle upon which this standard is formed is bringing local budgets up to a standard minimum.

thereby guaranteeing the republic-wide per capita minimum of budget expenditures. These standards are long-term in nature. When expenditures are increased local soviets must resolve the matter of how to balance their budgets independently.

Article 35: Local Budget Revenues

1. The following revenues are paid into the budgets of local soviets of people's deputies at the territorial level:

- 1. income taxes from citizens of the USSR, foreign citizens and individuals without citizenship living within the territory of a given local soviet;
- 2. taxes on the salary fund for kolkhoz workers;
- 3. taxes on profits and payments for use of natural resources made by enterprises, organizations and institutions and their structural units which comprise the local economy, newly-established small enterprises and joint enterprises, based on the percentage of the latter owned by local soviets;
- 4. taxes on cooperatives registered with the soviet in question;
- 5. payments for land rental;
- 6. land taxes, which may be partially centralized in the republic budget;
- 7. payments for labor resources;
- 8. receipts from lease of community property;
- 9. local taxes, fees and duties;
- 10. payment for patents on individual labor activity, as well as registration and reregistration according to established procedures of enterprises and other commercial structures operating within a soviet's territory;
- 11. other revenues in accordance with current legislation.

In urban rayons incomes taxes from citizens of the USSR, foreign citizens and individuals without citizenship as well as land lease payments are paid into those rayons' budgets based on a standard rate. These standard payments are established by the city soviet, with consideration given to the opinion of rayon soviets.

Village, settlement and city (subordinate to rayons) soviets independently decide whether to delegate the right to divide up revenue sources between budgets to a higher-level soviet.

2. The following revenues are paid in full into the budgets of soviets at the basic territorial level:

- 1. profit taxes and natural resource payments from enterprises and organizations which are part of a given territorial administrative unit's community property, as well as from joint ventures in accordance with the participation of local soviets therein;

- 2. profit taxes from public associations, consumer cooperatives and kolkhozes;

- 3. receipts from the leasing of community property;

- 4. payment for patents on individual labor activity as well as for registration and reregistration according to established procedures of enterprises and other commercial organizations operating within a soviet's territory;

- 5. taxes on cooperatives registered by a given soviet;

- 6. local taxes, fees and duties;

- 7. other revenues in accordance with current legislation.

3. The following revenues are paid in full into the budgets of soviets at the oblast territorial level (and the Minsk City Soviet):

- 1. profit taxes and payments for natural resources from enterprises and organizations which are part of a given territorial administrative unit's community property, as well as from joint ventures in accordance with the participation in them of an oblast soviet of people's deputies (or the Minsk City Soviet);

- 2. other revenues in accordance with current legislation.

4. The following are paid in full into local budgets: territorial taxes levied on the profits of enterprises and organizations which are all-union property and Belorussian SSR property and other enterprises and organizations which are not part of the community property of a given territorial administrative unit, at rates set by a higher-level soviet within the bounds of a fixed portion of profit taxes from those enterprises and organizations as paid into the budgets of oblasts (and the city of Minsk). It is not permitted to set rates which result in budget revenues below the established budget minimum.

Tax rates are long-term and are not subject to change in the event of an increase in the amount of money received from the levying of profit taxes.

Rates for territorial taxes levied on the profits of enterprises and organizations which are all-union property or Belorussian SSR property and other enterprises and organizations which are not part of the community property of a given territorial administrative unit relative to the budgets of oblasts and the city of Minsk are established by Belorussian SSR laws.

5. Payments are made into local budgets from the following sources on the basis of stable, long-term standards:

- 1. payments for the use of natural resources;

- 2. turnover tax;

- 3. other revenues in accordance with current Belorussian SSR legislation.

Standard payments into the appropriate local budgets are approved by higher-level soviets, and payments into the budgets of oblasts and the city of Minsk by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet depending upon the total sum of revenues and the total sum of expenditures by local budgets, as well as social standards established by Belorussian SSR organs of state authority.

6. In order to ensure an economically justified rate of payments into the budget enterprises and organizations which are part of all-union property or Belorussian SSR property must submit to the soviets of the territory within which they are located data on their profits and interaction with the budget for the year ahead during the time when local budgets are being drawn up and approved.

Fees for labor and natural resources are stable and long-term, and are established by Belorussian SSR laws. They may be differentiated depending upon the labor supply and economic assessment of a given territory's natural resources.

Payments by enterprises and organizations are made to budgets at the places where those enterprises and organizations, branches thereof, and other structural units and subsections are located. Distribution of payments by enterprises and organizations which have branches in a given territory is determined proportionally, based on the percentage of employees employed in that territory in relation to the total number of person employed by that enterprise or organization.

7. In accordance with Belorussian SSR laws local soviets determine the following:

- 1. profit tax rates for enterprises and organizations and other facilities in the local economy which are community property;
- 2. local taxes, fees and duties;
- 3. rates for other payments under their jurisdiction.

8. Local soviets have a right to grant certain payers exemptions in regard to taxes and payments which are paid into the corresponding local budget.

Article 36: Local Budget Expenditures

1. Local soviets of people's deputies independently:

- 1. determine areas in which budget funds are to be used, and spend budget funds to finance measures pertaining to the social and economic development of their territories;
- 2. within the limits of their available funds increase levels of expenditure for the maintenance of housing and municipal services, health care facilities, public education, social security, science, culture, physical

culture and sports, internal affairs organs, environmental protection and protection of historical and cultural monuments; establish bonuses and supplements to official salaries and established rates of pay for employees of those institutions.

- 3. establish additional benefits and payments in connection with aid to certain categories of the population, as well as amounts of payments to citizens;
- 4. establish the amounts of payments for the maintenance of organs of local self-government;
- 5. form reserve funds;
- 6. establish minimum currency balances on hand.

2. Local soviets may invest temporarily available funds in commercial undertakings, stocks and security, or issue them according to established procedures as loans to finance priority development of rural areas.

3. Local budgets make provision for sums required to pay back loans and debts and to service debts.

4. Revenues received additionally as local budgets are implemented, as well as revenues which exceed expenditures as a result of increased revenues or reduced expenditures, remain fully at the disposition of the soviets, are not subject to expropriation and may be used at the soviets' discretion. As a rule no compensation is made for losses of revenue and additional expenditures incurred by a higher-level budget. At year's end remaining budget funds are not subject to expropriation and are to be used at the local soviet's discretion.

5. In the event that economic acts and decisions are made by the Belorussian SSR government or acts passed by Belorussian SSR ministries and agencies or local soviets and their organs which increase expenditures or decrease revenues in lower-level budgets, those budgets receive compensation out of funds from a higher-level budget and the resources of the ministries and agencies concerned. In the event that soviets make decisions which decrease payments to higher-level budgets those budgets are to receive compensation out of funds from the local budgets concerned.

Article 37: Nonbudgetary Funds

1. Local soviets of people's deputies form nonbudgetary funds which include:

- 1. additional revenues and savings of financial resources accrued as a result of efforts made by local soviets to resolve economic and social problems;
- 2. voluntary contributions by citizens, enterprises, organizations and institutions;
- 3. revenues from the issuance of local loans, securities and stocks and the conducting of local lotteries for cash and merchandise prizes, auctions, exhibits, concerts and other events;

- 4. fines levied on enterprises and organizations for obtaining unjustified profits based on increases in prices (rates) for products (or work and services);
- 5. fines for environmental pollution and inefficient utilization of natural resources and other violations of environmental protection legislation, public health standards and regulations, plus payments paid as compensation for damages. Sums obtained from these fines and payments are to be used to finance environmental protection and restoration efforts;
- 6. fines for administrative legal violations committed within the territory of a given soviet;
- 7. concealed or understated income of enterprises, organizations and institutions located within a given territory which is revealed by subsequent audit;
- 8. income from the sale of ownerless and confiscated property, as well as property owned by local soviets;
- 9. other nonbudgetary funds.

2. Nonbudgetary funds are to be kept in special accounts opened at banking institutions; they are not subject to expropriation and are to be spent at soviets' discretion.

3. Local soviets may with the consent of enterprises, organizations and institutions combine the latter's resources with budgetary and nonbudgetary funds to build, expand, repair or maintain on a proportional basis facilities for the social and production-related infrastructure or to carry out environmental protection measures.

Article 38: Convertible Currency Funds

Local soviets of people's deputies have a right to establish convertible currency funds based on payments received on the basis of stable, long-term rates from the convertible currency receipts of organizations and tourist centers as well as from other sources according to procedures established by Belorussian SSR legislation.

Convertible currency funds are to be kept in accounts opened at banking institutions and used at the discretion of the appropriate local soviet, and are not subject to expropriation.

Article 39: Financial Resources of Territorial Public Self-Government

The financial resources of territorial public self-government are comprised of voluntary contributions by organizations and the public and income received from the establishment of enterprises and conducting of events, together with loans.

Organs of territorial public self-government may in accordance with current legislation request and use for specific purposes deductions from the income of housing maintenance organizations for the purpose of conducting educational work with children and teenagers, mass cultural work and athletic work with the public at places of residence.

Local soviets have a right to transfer a portion of their financial resources to organs of territorial public self-government either on the condition that the resources be returned or without compensation.

Organs of territorial public self-government use the financial resources at their disposal independently to further their activities, including maintenance of organs established by them.

Article 40: Participation by Local Soviets of People's Deputies and Other Organs of Local Self-Government in Credit Relations and Procedures Governing Monetary Circulation

1. Local soviets of people's deputies and other organs of local self-government which constitute corporate bodies have the right:

- 1. to use credit on a contractual basis, including credit on advantageous terms, for production-related and social goals;
- 2. to participate using their own resources in the establishment and operations of commercial banks and other financial and lending institutions on a stockholder or partnership basis in accordance with Belorussian SSR laws;
- 3. to establish special-purpose funds and transfer them to any banking institution as resources to finance special-purpose programs and events in order to perform local tasks.

2. Local soviets have a right to create territorial consolidated financial balances, as well as balances of the money income and expenditures of the public when compiling plans for social and economic development and bear responsibility for the state of money circulation and the state of balance between the public's payable demand and the supply of goods and services within their territories. Appropriate state and public organs and organizations present to a soviet and its executive and administrative organs information necessary to compile the above.

3. Local soviets may transfer budget funds to banking institutions as resources to finance special-purpose programs and events for the purpose of performing local tasks.

V. Guarantees Regarding Local Self-Government

Article 41: Ensuring the Power of Local Soviets of People's Deputies To Develop Their Territories

1. The establishment, siting, construction or transformation of economic and social facilities, use of natural resources within a given territory and other matters regarding commercial, social and cultural activity which affect the public interest are to be carried out only with the local soviet's consent.

2. Local soviets have a right:

- 1. to demand or arrange the conducting of additional ecological and other essential consultation in regard to facilities either under construction or presently in use and the technologies being employed;
- 2. to set higher standards of ecological safety within their territory according to procedures established by law and to levy economic sanctions for violation thereof; to shut down organizations or their individual production areas (shops or sectors) located within the territory of a local soviet, or to deny these enterprises and organizations or their production facilities within the soviet's territory the right to use local natural resources to pollute the environment, to use natural resources in an inefficient manner or to commit other violations of environmental protection legislation or public health standards and regulations;
- 3. to take special legally-established measures to protect citizens' personal safety, defend their rights and legitimate interests and protect all forms of property and law and order in the event of natural disasters, ecological catastrophes, epidemics, epizooties, fires or massive disruption of public order.

3. Organizations, regardless of their subordination or form of ownership, do not have a right to make changes in their plans of operations with regard to matters stipulated by contract with local soviets, and are also required to reach agreement with the appropriate soviet regarding changes made in profit plans which will result in decreased budget revenues for the soviet.

Article 42: Enforcement of Legality

Decisions by referendums, local soviets of people's deputies, organs of territorial public self-government and citizens' meetings (assemblies) should not contradict the laws of the Belorussian SSR.

Procuratorial organs monitor the legality of actions by the executive and administrative organs of local self-government, as do other state organs empowered to do so.

Decisions by state and public organs of local self-government and their officials may be appealed in a court of law or arbitration or in the appropriate soviet by individuals and corporate bodies according to legally established procedures, but soviet decisions which are in violation of the law are to be appealed to a higher-level soviet.

Article 43: The Mandatory Nature of Decisions and Protection for the Rights of Local Self-Government

The decisions of a local referendum on matters placed under the jurisdiction of local self-government by the laws of the Belorussian SSR are binding on the corresponding local soviets of people's deputies, organs of territorial public self-government and all organizations and citizens within a given territory.

Decisions by local soviets, their organs and their officials made within the bounds of their authority as defined by the present law and other Belorussian SSR laws are binding on all organizations, public organizations and citizens within the territory under their jurisdiction.

Decisions made by a local soviet's executive committee may be repealed by the soviet which formed the committee, or by a higher-level executive and administrative organ. Disputes which arise between soviets at different levels regarding matters under their jurisdiction are to be considered according to procedures established by Belorussian SSR legislation.

Decisions by a local soviet which violate the law may be repealed by a higher-level soviet and also suspended by the executive committee of a higher-level soviet or the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers. In such cases the executive committee or the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers petitions the soviet higher in rank than the soviet whose decision has been suspended to repeal those decisions.

Decisions by organs of territorial public self-government which were made within the bounds of their authority are binding for all organizations located within the territory in question, as well as for officials and private citizens. In the event of noncompliance with decisions by organs of territorial public self-government those organs have a right to appeal to the appropriate soviet and request that penalties be levied against the guilty parties.

Organizations located within a soviet's territory, officials and private citizens bear liability before organs of local self-government, including property liability, and must make full compensation for losses incurred as a result of their decisions, actions or inaction to the public interest, the local economy or the environment, as well as for damages caused as a result of failure to comply with decisions by organs of local self-government.

In the event of noncompliance with decisions by a soviet or its organs made within the bounds of their authority by organizations located within territory under a soviet's jurisdiction, as well as by individual citizens, the soviet or its authorized representatives has a right to impose economic sanctions against those organizations or individuals within limits established by legislation and to make proposals to the appropriate organs regarding penalties against their leaders.

Article 44: Responsibility of Local Soviets of People's Deputies and Other Organs of Local Self-Government

Local soviets of people's deputies and other organs of local self-government bear responsibility for the legality of the decisions made by them.

Harm caused to organizations and citizens as a result of illegal decisions, actions or inaction on the part of local

soviets, their officials and other organs of local self-government are to be compensated for in full using the latter's own funds.

Article 45: Consideration of Proposals From Organs of Local Self-Government

In accordance with the USSR Law "On General Principles of Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the USSR" and the present law the supreme organs of state authority and administration in the USSR and Belorussian SSR and the all-union and republic organs of public associations are obligated to consider and take into consideration in their actions proposals from Belorussian SSR organs of local self-government and report to those organs within one month regarding the outcome of such consideration.

*N. Dementev, chairman,
Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet
20 February 1991, Minsk*

Decree on Implementation of Local Self-Government Law

91UN1156B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 15 Mar 91 p 4

[Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet decree: "On Implementation of the Belorussian SSR Law 'On Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the Belorussian SSR'"]

[Text] The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet hereby resolves:

1. to begin implementation of the Belorussian SSR law "On Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the Belorussian SSR" at the moment of its publication, and Part 1, Point 1, Article 10; Part 3, Point 1, Article 14; and Part 4, Article 43 as soon as appropriate changes have been made in the Belorussian SSR Constitution (Basic Law).

Parts 3-6 of Article 34 and Subpoint 1 of Point 1 and Point 5 of Article 35 will be implemented beginning on 1 January 1992.

It is hereby established that prior to implementation of procedures governing payment of income taxes based on declarations of total income prepared by citizens income tax (Subpoint 1, Point 1, Article 35) is to be paid into the local budget based on the location of enterprises, organizations and institutions.

2. to decree that the matter of one individual holding the posts of local soviet of people's deputies chairman and chairman of its executive committee simultaneously is to be brought into accordance with the present law within three months of its implementation.

3. to decree that from now until Belorussian SSR legislation is brought into accordance with the Belorussian SSR Law "On Local Self-Government and Local

Economy in the Belorussian SSR" legislative acts are to be applied if they are not contrary to the present law.

4. Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet commissions on legislation and the activities of soviets of people's deputies and the development of self-government shall submit the following at the next session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet:

—a draft Belorussian SSR law on changes and amendments to the Belorussian SSR Constitution (Basic Law) in connection with passage of the Belorussian SSR Law "On Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the Belorussian SSR";

—a draft legislative act setting forth procedures for direct election of the chairmen of local soviets of people's deputies.

5. to instruct the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers to do the following by 1 September 1991:

—submit to the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet proposals regarding the bringing of Belorussian SSR legislative acts into accordance with the Belorussian SSR law "On Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the Belorussian SSR";

—bring Belorussian SSR government decisions into accordance with the aforementioned law;

—ensure review and repeal by ministries, state committees and other Belorussian SSR agencies of standardizing acts, including guidelines, which are counter to the aforementioned law;

—submit proposals regarding standards of budget provisions for the oblasts and the city of Minsk to the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet;

—draw up a model list of departments, administrations and other organs under the executive committees of oblast, rayon, city and urban rayon soviets of people's deputies in the Belorussian SSR;

—draft a statute on division of facilities and community property among soviets at various territorial levels.

6. The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Soviets of People's Deputies and Development of Self-Government shall provide:

—monitoring of compliance with the Belorussian SSR Law "On Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the Belorussian SSR";

—systematic study and summarization of practical efforts to implement the aforementioned law and preparations on the basis thereof of recommendations, or if necessary proposals regarding changes in the Belorussian SSR Constitution (Basic Law) and Belorussian SSR legislative acts.

7. to decree the invalidity of the 7 March 1990 Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On a

Temporary Statute Regarding the Chairman and Presidiums of Local Soviets of People's Deputies in the Belorussian SSR" (See: SVOD ZAKONOV Belorussian SSR, No 8, 1990, p 102).

*N. Dementev, chairman,
Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet
22 February 1991, Minsk*

Ukrainian Political Reform Characterized

91UN1295A Kiev KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA
in Russian 27 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Professor V.D. Sikora, doctor of economic sciences, by I. Pogorelova; place and date not given; published under the rubric "Timely!" "Who Is in the Opposition?"]

[Text] "The Ukraine is like a locomotive of Soviet radical reform"—an article with this title appeared recently in one of the most respectable foreign political journals in the West. Its author, Professor V.D. Sikora, doctor of economic sciences, has been analyzing the theory of the USSR's transition from socialism to capitalism since the seventies in her articles, published in Swedish journals.

[Pogorelova] Crisis is life's norm. We have become accustomed to this word as well as to the fact that it will be worse in the future. Do you also have a pessimistic view?

[Sikora] By nature I am neither an optimist nor a pessimist. Their place in me is taken by a vacillating sense of a goal. Last year's elections in the republic permitted the creation of a political institution—the Supreme Soviet—which is oriented toward the interests of the people of the Ukraine for the first time in 70 years. In the midst of the doom and helplessness has appeared hope.

The declaration on sovereignty and on economic independence, the transition of the utterly demolished coal and metallurgic sectors to Ukrainian jurisdiction, the establishment of a republic-level state purchasing order and even the issuance of coupons for purchases—all of these are steps toward Ukrainian statehood and, what is the very same, toward survival and security.

The merit in this goes to the opposition in the form of Rukh, the miners of the Donbass, and the student movement. They were the ones who managed to move the Ukrainian Communist Party.

In fact, the pressure of Rukh to some degree compelled the Communist Party to remember itself. And very gradually, in my view, an historic turning point occurred in the party itself. Political instincts, political wisdom, and political views were awakened. People appeared who, without doubt, will become professional politicians. For example, Leonid Kravchuk, a polished politician who considers himself the leader of a great state with all the resulting obligations and responsibility. The

technocrat and the politician are also combined in Fokin. They are both oriented, undoubtedly, toward the interests of the republic.

However, a political center is gradually forming in the republic's Supreme Soviet—it is being created by those professional politicians of the Ukrainian Communist Party and of the opposition who are reaching a consensus.

All this coincides with very progressive changes in the Union. Six months ago the idea of the creation of a community and an association of sovereign states was unrealistic and politically unviable. The initiative of Russia—and of Yeltsin—made it realistic and productive.

With genuine democratization of the Union and its transformation into a community of states on the basis of mutual aid of all republics, a civilized post-Union can be created without arrogance.

[Pogorelova] General change depends on everyone. What should the Ukraine do to ensure that this process does not die out?

[Sikora] The Ukraine has now reached a point where the loyalty of its Supreme Soviet and the administration to the Ukraine's basic interests will be an expression of wisdom within the bounds of all the aims of Ukrainian politics. The first, strongest, and most fundamental aim is domestic policy. It also includes special relations with Ukrainians living in North America and other countries and those in Eurasia. The second is policy in regard to Moscow and Russia, the old center and the Kremlin, those republics that are neighbors, and other republics. The third is foreign policy: the former socialist countries of Europe, the countries of the EEC, Turkey and the Near East, North America, and other directions. The common feature in all of these aims is the creation of Ukrainian statehood.

The political doctrine of the Ukraine should be based on the idea that the main environment of its realistic activities is a newly created Eastern European economic region. Through it the Ukraine will be able to interact with Central and Western Europe. The Ukraine should obtain a strong economic position in this region in coming decades.

At the present time priority number one is the tireless construction of Ukrainian statehood, and priority number two is an open market economy. The Ukrainian Communist Party, if it wants to occupy a solid position on the Ukrainian political stage, should make maximum use of the fact that priority number one for the time being outstrips priority number two, and in the matter of its realization the Ukrainian Communist Party has the advantage over the opposition for the time being. As a result, for example, Fokin is doing more to strengthen the position of the Ukrainian Communist Party than its leader, in my opinion.

However, the partocracy and the Ukrainian Communist Party do not support internal demands for a market economy and therefore may unconsciously bring upon themselves and the Ukraine the fate of Romania.

So that this does not happen, the opposition should be fairly strong—it will have to lead the Ukraine via a national accord quickly along the path which Hungary, for example, trod. No "shock therapy" on an all-Ukraine level! This is too strong a "potion" for the young Ukrainian state. The art of politics is to arrive at an independent, market, democratic Ukraine in a new East European political and economic region without animosity, hatred, or bloodshed.

There is a need to quickly declare (relying on agreement on the question of a referendum) a "modus vivendi"—a means of coexisting with the opposition. The first step is an exchange of political concessions, for example in the following form: The general procurator realizes that it would be good for him to voluntarily choose another post at the wish of the workers; in turn it is for the opposition and the workers to realize that the career of deputy is not always the best sphere of application of force in the name of the people for several deputies who have transgressed through vanity and ambition, and that some of them might find themselves less prestigious and fruitful political pursuits...

[Pogorelova] Do you think that it is possible to pursue sovereignty and democracy in the Ukraine simultaneously across the entire territory, or are different paces in different regions unavoidable?

[Sikora] I believe that the process should move from the West to the East, leaving special functions to Kiev and the Central Dnepr region. Conditions already exist for a "spurt" in three West Ukrainian oblasts. However, L. Kravchuk is right: The main thing is to find the path of dignified implementation of power by those forces that are in the majority there. I believe that in Lvov he laid the foundation of a political doctrine for the most important aim of Ukrainian policy.

The all-Ukrainian significance of the experience of these oblasts consists in showing that communists can organically join in a "postcommunist" society where the ideas of democratic socialism rule. Yes, specifically democratic socialism. However much they have "dodged" the issue in the Western Ukraine, their ideology is democratic socialism in a leftist West European form, perhaps with a Christian shade.

The democrats in power in these oblasts need a constructive opposition in their own interests. And the party—the successor of the West Ukraine Communist Party and the social democratic parties of that region—can become that opposition on the basis of the party organizations of the three oblasts.

One must create a critical mass of progress in the Galicia area. That would be advantageous for all of the Ukraine, and it would be advantageous for all of us. And let us

leave a place in our life for fundamentalist communists and for those who are loyal to the purity of the ideology of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists of the 1930's so long as it does not contradict the Constitution. Let there also be "ultras" among us. Let us not deprive people of the pleasant dream of the utopian and unrealistic... And the majority among the "majority" and the opposition, changing places with the approach of a new, young political wave, should be filled with the resolve to create the organism of statehood of a great European people on the banks of the Dnepr and from the Carpathians to the Black Sea.

Caucasus

Armenian Supsov Debates Organizations, Referendum

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[Text] The second session of the first convocation of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet continued its deliberations on 2 April at the hall of congresses of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet.

At the morning sitting, chaired by the First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Babken Ararktsyan, Eduard Yegoryan, acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Standing Commission for the Establishment of Independent Statehood and National Policy Affairs, presented a revised bill endorsed by the Supreme Soviet on the procedures to implement the law on public and political organizations. The Supreme Soviet voted to adopt this decision.

Next, Eduard Yegoryan presented a bill on the law of Armenian Republic referendum which was adopted at first reading at the previous session. A heated debate developed and continued even after the main recess. In view of the need to verify a particular point, voting on the bill was postponed.

Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, assumed the chairmanship of the session and proposed that the deputies should consider the bill on the standing orders of the Supreme Soviet. Viken Khachatryan, a member of the Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Credentials and Ethics Committee, presented the general outlines of the bill.

Ruben Torosyan, a member of the Standing Commission on Economic Independence and Economic Development, presented certain clarifications to the people's deputies.

At the evening session the bill concerning the law on the Armenian Republic referendum was put to the vote. It was adopted by a majority vote. The parliament also adopted two other decisions related to this bill.

The people's deputies then observed a minute of silence in memory of their colleague Gevorg Tataryan [who died after a serious illness].

A debate then developed around the bill on the Supreme Soviet's standing orders. Viken Khachatryan replied to the numerous questions of the deputies and clarified certain points. It was decided to endorse the bill at first reading and resubmit it for redrafting.

Georgian Law on Elections to Local Assemblies

91US03594 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian
15 Feb 91 pp 1-4

[Law of Georgian Republic on Elections to Local Governing Bodies—Georgian Republic Assemblies, signed by Chairman Z. Gamsakhurdia of Georgian Republic Supreme Soviet in Tbilisi on 29 January 1991]

[Text]

I. General Provisions

Article 1. Election Fundamentals

Deputies will be elected to the following local governing bodies of the Georgian Republic: city (with the exception of cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons), municipal rayon, settlement, and rural assemblies—on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot—and to the assemblies of cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons, zones of cities of republic jurisdiction, and rayons—by the assemblies of municipal rayons and the assemblies of cities, settlements, and rural communities located within the zone of the city and rayon respectively, and by secret ballot.

Deputies will be elected to the assemblies of the Georgian Republic for a term of three years. Elections of deputies to city (with the exception of cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons), municipal rayon, settlement, and rural assemblies will be held in multiseat electoral districts, and elections to assemblies of cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons, zones of cities of republic jurisdiction, and rayons will be held by the assemblies of municipal rayons and the assemblies of cities, settlements, and rural communities located within the zone of the city and rayon respectively. Elections to republic assemblies will be held on the basis of proportional representation and a single ballot.

Article 2. Universal Suffrage

Elections of deputies to the assemblies of the Georgian Republic will be universal: Citizens of Georgia who reside permanently within territory under the jurisdiction of the given assembly and who will be 18 years of age by election day will be eligible to vote, and citizens of Georgia who reside permanently or have a permanent place of residence in Georgia, will be 18 years of age by election day, and have resided permanently in Georgia for at least 10 years will be eligible to run for office, regardless of social origins, social and property status,

race, nationality, gender, education, language, political views, religion, or type and nature of occupation.

Citizens of Georgia cannot be members of more than two representative governing bodies simultaneously.

Individuals serving in military or militarized units not under the jurisdiction of the Georgian Government will not vote in elections to Georgian Republic assemblies.

Mentally ill citizens judged incompetent by a court and individuals confined in places of detention by court order will not vote in elections.

Article 3. Equal Suffrage

The elections of deputies to the assemblies of the Georgian Republic will be equal: Each voter will have one vote; Georgian citizens will participate in elections on equal terms.

Article 4. Direct Suffrage

The elections of deputies to Georgian Republic assemblies (with the exception of the assemblies of cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons, the assemblies of zones of cities of republic jurisdiction, and rayon assemblies) will be direct: Deputies will be elected directly by the voters.

Article 5. Secret Ballot

Voting in elections to Georgian Republic assemblies will be by secret ballot: No one will monitor the electorate's expression of will.

Article 6. Conduct of Elections by Electoral Commissions

The conduct of elections of deputies to Georgian Republic assemblies will be arranged by electoral commissions, which will be made up of representatives of the political parties and public organizations and movements of Georgia, labor collectives, collectives of secondary specialized and higher academic institutions, and groups of voters.

Article 7. Participation by Citizens, Their Associations, Labor Collectives, and Collectives of Secondary Specialized and Higher Academic Institutions in Election Preparations and Proceedings

Citizens of Georgia will participate in the preparations for, and conduct of, elections to Georgian Republic assemblies through political parties, public organizations and movements, labor collectives, and collectives of secondary specialized and higher academic institutions, and directly.

Political parties, public organizations and movements, labor collectives, and collectives of secondary specialized and higher academic institutions will participate in Georgian Republic assembly election preparations and proceedings through their representatives in electoral commissions and directly.

Article 8. Right To Nominate Candidates for Georgian Republic Assembly Deputies

The right to nominate candidates for Georgian Republic assembly deputies will be granted to political parties (political organizations, movements, unions, etc.—hereafter referred to as “parties”) active throughout the territory of Georgia, the respective autonomous republic, or the respective region, and to their associations—electoral blocs and groups of voters—by means of petitions.

Article 9. Incompatibility of Status of Member of Georgian Republic Assembly with Official Position

The members of the Georgian Council of Ministers and the Abkhaz and Adzhar councils of ministers, their deputies, heads of other republic governing bodies in Georgia and in Abkhazia and Adzharia; members of the councils of assemblies (with the exception of council chairmen), prefects, and prefecture officials; individuals elected to judicial bodies, chief state arbiters and state arbiters of Georgia and of Abkhazia and Adzharia, the general procurator of Georgia, his subordinate procurators and their deputies, and the chairman and members of the Georgian Constitutional Oversight Committee may not serve simultaneously as members of Georgian Republic assemblies.

Article 10. Election Equipment; Election Expenses; Electoral Fund

The expenses of Georgian Republic assembly election preparations and proceedings will be covered by the state. The approximate amount of these expenditures for each assembly will be estimated by the Central Electoral Commission of the Georgian Republic, which will also determine their actual amount within two months after the elections. It will be approved by the Georgian Republic Supreme Soviet when the elections are over.

The sum needed for assembly election preparations and proceedings, estimated by the Central Electoral Commission, will be allocated and deposited in the commission's account by the republic Ministry of Finance no later than 45 days before the elections.

In addition, the parties acting autonomously in the elections, electoral blocs, and independent candidates can create rayon and city electoral funds, for which they will have the right to use their own money and donations from citizens, labor collectives, and public organizations and movements of Georgia.

The sum intended for the electoral fund will be deposited in the account the participating parties, electoral blocs, and independent candidates open in Georgian banks (in the appropriate branches) after they have been registered by the territorial electoral commission.

The amount of the electoral fund spent on the election campaign of each party, electoral bloc, and independent candidate throughout the territory under the jurisdiction of the assembly should not exceed four times the amount

allocated for this purpose by the Central Electoral Commission for elections to the assembly. The electoral fund will be managed by a board, consisting of the administrator of the fund, a treasurer, and a cashier, appointed by officials of the party acting autonomously in the elections, officials of the parties making up the bloc, or the independent candidate for deputy. The administrator of the electoral fund will be responsible for the proper use of the fund and the objectivity of the board's decisions.

When the elections are over the remainder of the party electoral fund will be deposited in the account of the appropriate party organ, the remainder of the fund of the electoral bloc will be deposited in equal amounts in the accounts of the appropriate organs of the parties making up the bloc, and the remainder of the independent candidate's fund will be deposited in the account of any Georgian charitable society he chooses.

The procedure for distributing and using election financing will be established by the Central Electoral Commission of the Georgian Republic 35-45 days prior to the elections. The sum allocated to territorial and local electoral commissions will be deposited in their accounts by the Central Electoral Commission no later than 30 days prior to the elections. Accounts for these electoral commissions will be opened in local branches of Georgian banks no later than two days after the Central Electoral Commission decree on the allocation of funds to commissions is published. The money allocated to electoral commissions will be managed for the commissions by the chairmen and treasurers of the commissions, who will be responsible and accountable for its proper use. Territorial and local electoral commissions will stop all payments to organizations and individuals no later than 3 weeks after the elections within the territory under the jurisdiction of the assembly and will submit a report to the Central Electoral Commission within a week in the format it specifies and transfer the remaining funds in their accounts to its account within 2 weeks.

Within a month after the election results have been published, rayon, city, municipal rayon, settlement, and rural electoral commissions, parties acting autonomously in the elections, electoral blocs, and independent candidates elected to assemblies will publish reports of their campaign expenses in the format stipulated by the Central Electoral Commission.

The proper use of electoral funds by parties acting autonomously in the elections, electoral blocs, and independent candidates will be overseen by electoral commissions, the expenditures of subordinate electoral commissions on election preparations and proceedings will be overseen by the Central Electoral Commission, and the expenditures of the latter will be overseen by the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Enterprises, establishments, organizations, and state and public organs will furnish electoral commissions with the

premises and equipment needed for election preparations and proceedings for free.

State news organs will publish information submitted by electoral commissions, the campaign platforms of parties acting autonomously in the elections, electoral blocs, and independent candidates, and other materials covered in this law for free.

Article 11. Glasnost in Election Preparations and Proceedings

Georgian Republic assembly election preparations and proceedings will be conducted by electoral commissions publicly and openly. Electoral commissions will notify citizens of their work, of the creation of electoral districts and precincts, the composition, location, and working hours of electoral commissions, and voter rolls; they will acquaint the public with a list of parties acting autonomously in the elections and of electoral blocs, a list of the candidates they nominate and independent candidates for deputy, and their campaign platforms, and will report information about candidates for deputy and voting and election results.

Meetings of electoral commissions and polling places will be open to officials of parties acting autonomously in the elections and electoral blocs, one authorized representative of each party, electoral bloc, and independent candidate, and representatives of the press, television, and radio; one representative of each candidate, each party acting autonomously in the election, and each electoral bloc may be present in the polling place on election day from the time the ballot boxes are sealed to the time when all the votes have been tallied.

The authority of representatives must be certified in the appropriate documents or credentials from candidates or officials of parties acting autonomously in the elections (or electoral blocs). The credentials will be submitted to the appropriate electoral commission at least two days before the meeting. The electoral commission will make its decision within 24 hours. In the event of a refusal, the electoral commission will state the reason in a written response, which can be appealed to a superior electoral commission.

The news media will cover assembly election preparations and proceedings. They will be guaranteed unimpeded access to all sessions and meetings. Electoral commissions, parties acting autonomously in the elections, electoral blocs, state and public organs, and labor collectives will provide them with information connected with election preparations and proceedings.

The Central Electoral Commission will have the right to broadcast pertinent information each morning on Georgian radio and each evening on Georgian television, and territorial and local electoral commissions will have the same right each morning and evening on local networks. The information will be reported by the chairman of the

electoral commission, his deputy, or an individual appointed by the commission specifically for this purpose.

Reports on meetings of the Central Electoral Commission and on the decisions it makes will be published regularly in republic newspapers, and information about the activities of electoral commissions on lower levels will be reported in the appropriate rayon (or city) newspapers.

Article 12. Responsibility for Violations of Election Laws

Individuals preventing, by means of violence, deception, threats, bribery, or other means, the free exercise of Georgian citizens' right to elect and be elected deputies of Georgian Republic assemblies and to conduct campaigns; and individuals who interfere in the work of electoral commissions or interfere with the voting in electoral precincts, the performance of duties connected with the registration of candidates, the tallying of votes, and the determination of election results, who publish or otherwise disseminate information impairing the honor and dignity of candidates for deputy, or who campaign on election day; as well as the members of electoral commissions and the officials of state and public organs who forge election documents, deliberately tally votes incorrectly, breach the secrecy of voting, do not supply electoral commissions with the necessary materials and information, or do not carry out their decisions, will be held legally liable.

Parties, electoral blocs, and independent candidates spending in excess of the maximum electoral fund stipulated in this law will lose their mandates in the appropriate assembly of the Georgian Republic and will lose the right to nominate candidates for deputy to this assembly for four years, and independent candidates will lose the right to be elected to this assembly.

Cases of the violations listed above will be tried in the Georgian Republic court in the territory where the violation was committed. The decision of the court can be appealed in the Supreme Court. Its decision will be final and may not be appealed.

II. Scheduling of Elections

Registration of Parties Acting Autonomously in Elections and Electoral Blocs

Article 13. Scheduling of Elections

Elections of deputies of Georgian Republic assemblies will be scheduled by the Georgian Republic Supreme Soviet at least four months before the end of their term. Elections to all republic assemblies (with the exception of assemblies of cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons, zones of cities of republic jurisdiction, and rayons) will be held simultaneously.

The date of the elections will be published in republic and local newspapers no later than two days after elections have been scheduled. Elections to the assemblies of rayons, cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons, and zones of cities of republic jurisdiction will be held on the territories under the jurisdiction no later than two months after the elections to municipal rayon, city, settlement, and rural assemblies.

Article 14. Registration of Parties Participating in Elections

To gain the right to nominate candidates for deputy in Georgian Republic assemblies and to nominate its own representatives in electoral commissions, a party will register with the Central Electoral Commission, for which purpose it will submit the appropriate application, signed by a party administrator, the party charter and program, and a list of its regional organizations, indicating the territorial-administrative units covered by each regional organization, to the commission no earlier than the third day after elections have been scheduled and no later than 50 days before the elections. The application will indicate the name of an official representative of the party and his address and telephone number. The Central Electoral Commission will issue a dated receipt to this representative for the application.

The commission will register the party and issue the appropriate receipt to its representative within three days after the receipt of the application.

The party's application for registration will be denied if its charter, program, or activities are contrary to the requirements stipulated for political parties in the laws of the Georgian Republic.

If a party's application for registration is denied, it can appeal the Central Electoral Commission's decision in the Georgian Supreme Court within three days after the denial. The court will make its decision within three days after the receipt of the request.

Within two days after the registration deadline, the Central Electoral Commission will publish a list of registered parties in order of the dates of application, as well as a list of parties denied registration and the reasons for the denial, in republic newspapers.

Parties registered during the general elections and parties registered after repeat elections in the manner prescribed by this law, as well as independent candidates, will have the right to participate in elections of assembly deputies to replace deputies who have resigned or been recalled.

Article 15. Electoral Blocs. Registration of Electoral Blocs and Parties Acting Autonomously in Elections

Parties registered by the Central Electoral Commission can unite in electoral blocs in one rayon, city of republic jurisdiction, or zone of a city of republic jurisdiction (the name of the bloc must not be the same as the name of bloc registered earlier), and the registration of these by

electoral commissions of rayons, cities of republic jurisdiction (with the exception of cities including settlements and rural communities), and zones of cities of republic jurisdiction will begin after the list of registered parties has been published and will end 35 days before the elections.

The application submitted to the commission will be signed by administrators of all the parties making up the bloc or administrators of their regional bodies; the application will state the name of the bloc's official representative to the electoral commission and his address and telephone number. The commission will issue a dated receipt to the official representative for the application.

The creation of electoral blocs will be reported in rayon and city newspapers within three days after the acceptance of the application by territorial electoral commissions.

A party belonging to a bloc cannot belong to another electoral bloc simultaneously or participate autonomously in elections in the same rayon or city of republic jurisdiction.

To participate in elections to a given assembly, the official representative of the party acting autonomously in elections or of the electoral bloc will present a statement of intention to participate in elections to an assembly and a registration receipt to the appropriate electoral commission at least 30 days before the elections. The statement will be signed by an administrator of the party or its regional body and administrators of all the parties making up the bloc or administrators of their regional bodies. The statement will indicate the name of the official representative of the party or bloc to the electoral commission and his address and telephone number. The commission will issue a dated receipt to the official representative for the statement.

A party belonging to an electoral bloc will have the right to withdraw from the bloc at any time and will be able to form a new electoral bloc or join another bloc before the bloc registration deadline or after the results of general elections have been published.

III. Electoral Districts, Electoral Precincts, and Sections of the Electoral District

Article 16. Electoral Districts

The following numbers of deputies will be elected to Georgian Republic assemblies: No less than 15 and no more than 100 to the Tbilisi assembly, 75 to the assembly of a rayon, city of republic jurisdiction, and zone of a city of republic jurisdiction; 50 to the assembly of a city of rayon jurisdiction or to a municipal rayon, settlement, or rural assembly.

Multiseat electoral districts will be formed in territories under the jurisdiction of a city assembly (with the exception of cities with municipal rayons or cities including settlements and rural communities) or a

municipal rayon, settlement, or rural assembly. The number of mandates in the district will be set at three-five; there can be more mandates in electoral districts for elections to settlement and rural assemblies.

The number of deputies elected to an assembly will be determined by the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium within the limits set in this law and with a view to the proposals of local governing or administrative bodies, the size of the population and territory of the city of republic jurisdiction and rayon, and other local features.

Within the territory under the jurisdiction of republic assemblies, electoral districts will be formed and the number of mandates in them will be established by the appropriate territorial electoral commissions, and in cities of republic jurisdiction (with no municipal rayons or attached settlements and rural communities) this will be done by the Central Electoral Commission at the request of the appropriate local electoral commissions.

Electoral districts will be formed with a view to territorial-administrative divisions. Within the territory under the jurisdiction of a given assembly, electoral districts will be formed in such a way that each deputy mandate will correspond to an approximately equal number of voters. The boundaries of electoral districts will not overlap.

Electoral commissions will publish a list of electoral districts, stipulating their boundaries, in the appropriate local newspapers no later than 35 days before the elections.

Article 17. Electoral Precincts

Electoral districts will be divided into electoral precincts for the organization of voting and the tallying of votes in elections of deputies to assemblies.

Electoral precincts can be formed in hospitals and other in-patient medical establishments, in nearly inaccessible locations, and on ships at sea on election day, corresponding to the ship's port of hail. Electoral precincts can also be formed in Georgian establishments located outside the republic, and these will be assigned to an electoral district by the Central Electoral Commission.

Electoral precincts will be formed with a view to electoral districts by local electoral commissions at the request of the appropriate local governing or administrative bodies or by agreement with them. On ships at sea on election day, electoral precincts will be formed in the same manner as in the ship's port of hail. In Georgian establishments located outside the republic, electoral precincts will be formed at the request of the Council of Ministers.

Electoral precincts will be formed with no fewer than 20 and no more than 3,000 voters, and no later than 35 days before the elections. In nearly inaccessible locations and on ships at sea on election day, the deadline for the

formation of electoral precincts will be the same, and in extraordinary cases it will be no later than five days before the elections.

Within two days after the formation of precincts, the appropriate electoral commission will publish the number of electoral precincts and the addresses of precinct electoral commissions and polling places in local newspapers.

Article 18. Sections of Electoral District

In elections of deputies to replace deputies who have resigned or been recalled, the electoral district will be divided into sections according to the number of mandates in the district. The number of voters in all sections should be approximately equal. Each section will take in all of the electoral precincts within its boundaries.

Within a month after the main elections have been held, the appropriate electoral commission will divide the electoral district into sections and submit the necessary data to the Central Electoral Commission without delay, which will have 45 days to correct them if necessary.

IV. Electoral Commissions

Article 19. System of Electoral Commissions

Elections of deputies to Georgian Republic assemblies will be conducted by:

- a) the Central Electoral Commission of the Georgian Republic;
- b) territorial electoral commissions—rayon, city (cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons), and zonal (zones of cities of republic jurisdiction) territorial electoral commissions;
- c) local electoral commissions—city electoral commissions for elections of deputies to city (with the exception of cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons) assemblies; municipal rayon electoral commissions for elections of deputies to municipal rayon assemblies; settlement electoral commissions for elections of deputies to settlement assemblies; rural electoral commissions for elections of deputies to rural assemblies;
- d) precinct electoral commissions.

Article 20. Members of Electoral Commissions

Any Georgian citizen eligible to vote can be nominated to serve as a member of an electoral commission.

Members of the Supreme Soviet of Georgia, candidates for deputy in a republic assembly, secretaries of assemblies on all levels, chairmen of the councils (or managers) of assemblies, their deputies, prefects and prefecture officials, and authorized representatives of parties, electoral blocs, and candidates for deputy participating in the elections may not be appointed to serve on electoral commissions.

The powers of the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and member of the electoral commission will be terminated:

- a) on the grounds listed in the second paragraph of this article;
- b) in the event of resignation;
- c) in the event of recall or dismissal.

Article 21. Organization of Work of Electoral Commissions

The chairmen and secretaries of electoral commissions (with the exception of the Central Electoral Commission) will be elected at the first meeting of their commissions.

The meeting of the electoral commission will be legally empowered if it is attended by at least two-thirds of the commission members. Commission members will certify their attendance of the meeting by signing an attendance sheet. Commission decisions will be made by a majority of the votes of the members present. In the case of a tie, the chairman will cast the deciding vote. Commission members disagreeing with the commission decision can express a special opinion, which will be attached in written form to the record of the meeting and will be sent to a superior electoral commission for examination.

The electoral commission will be represented by its chairman. If the commission has no chairman or if he cannot discharge his functions, his deputy will perform the duties of the chairman.

Any two members of the electoral commission can be released from production and office duties for the entire period of election preparations and proceedings, and the rest of the members of the precinct electoral commission can be released from these duties during the last 10 days of the preparations for elections by a decision of the commission. They will be paid a salary equivalent at least to their average wage from the funds allocated for elections. Members will be paid for work performed in the commission in their free time in an amount to be decided by the Central Electoral Commission and with the funds allocated for elections.

Funds allocated for elections will be managed for the commissions by the commission chairman and treasurer, who will be responsible and accountable for their proper use.

Members of electoral commissions may not campaign for or against the parties participating in the elections and the candidates for deputy.

Article 22. Working Groups of Electoral Commissions

Working groups can be formed in any electoral commission, with the exception of the precinct commission, for organizational, legal, and technical preparations for elections. The members of the working group, including the

commission treasurer, will be appointed at the request of the electoral commission by the territorial electoral commission.

Members of the working groups will be paid for the work they do by a decision of the electoral commission.

Article 23. Central Electoral Commission of Georgian Republic

Georgian Republic assembly elections will be supervised by the Central Electoral Commission of the Georgian Republic.

At the time of assembly elections, parties whose representatives have not been elected or have not been appointed to serve on the Central Electoral Commission may, after registering with the Central Electoral Commission, appoint one additional member each to participate in assembly elections as a member of the Central Electoral Commission. The parties will notify the Central Electoral Commission of their decision at least 40 days before the elections. These members of the Central Electoral Commission will participate in the discussion and deliberation of only matters pertaining to assembly elections, and their term will cease on the day the next elections to Georgian Republic assemblies are scheduled.

The Central Electoral Commission will publish a list of its members and the address and telephone numbers of the commission without delay in official organs of the Georgian Supreme Soviet and local governing bodies—newspapers and departmental gazettes.

Article 24. Powers of Central Electoral Commission

The Central Electoral Commission will

- 1) oversee compliance with this law and secure its uniform application throughout the territory of Georgia; interpret the provisions of this law when necessary; adopt instructions, by a two-thirds majority vote, to settle matters and make decisions needed for the conduct of election campaigns and not covered in this law.

- 2) publish the dates of the beginning and end of the period for the nomination and appointment of electoral commission members and the dates of the beginning and end of the period for electoral commissions to nominate and register candidates for deputy in electoral districts.

- 3) appoint deputy chairmen and four members for each territorial and city (cities of republic jurisdiction with no municipal rayons or cities with no attached settlements and rural communities) electoral commission, and additional commission members if necessary; publish the membership of electoral commissions and their addresses.

- 4) register political parties taking part in Georgian Republic assembly elections.

5) direct the activities of electoral commissions and receive their reports.

6) form electoral districts in cities of republic jurisdiction with no municipal rayons and cities with no attached settlements and rural communities;

7) assign electoral precincts outside Georgia's borders to an electoral district.

8) establish the procedure for the distribution and use of money intended for elections; distribute money among territorial and city (cities of republic jurisdiction with no municipal rayons or cities of rayon jurisdiction with no attached settlements and rural communities) electoral commissions; oversee the provision of electoral commissions with premises, vehicles, and communications equipment and investigate other matters pertaining to material and technical supplies for elections;

9) establish the format of ballots for elections of assembly deputies, voter rolls, records of the meetings of electoral commissions, and other election documents, choose the models of ballot boxes and electoral commission seals, and define the procedure for the storage of election documents.

10) secure equal terms for the participation of parties, electoral blocs, and candidates for deputy in the election campaign.

11) determine the procedure for the participation and use of the news media in the election campaign in conformity with this law.

12) define the obligations of ministries, state committees and departments, and other state and public organs with regard to matters connected with election preparations and proceedings and receive their reports.

13) sum up the election results in the republic and publish them in the newspapers of the Georgian Supreme Soviet within 30 days after election day.

14) investigate statements and complaints pertaining to the decisions and actions of electoral commissions and issue rulings on them

15) exercise other powers in conformity with this law and other laws of the Georgian Republic

Article 25. Territorial and Local Electoral Commissions

Territorial and local electoral commissions for elections of deputies to Georgian Republic assemblies will consist of a commission chairman, his deputy, a secretary, and at least 10 members.

Deputy chairmen and four members of each territorial and city (cities of republic jurisdiction with no municipal rayons or cities with no attached settlements and rural communities) electoral commission will be appointed by the Central Electoral Commission no earlier than 10 and

no later than 50 days after elections have been scheduled, and this will be done for the local electoral commission by the appropriate territorial electoral commission within 7 days after its formation, with a view to the suggestions of local governing and administrative bodies, parties, public organizations and movements, labor collectives and collectives of secondary specialized and higher academic institutions located within the territory, and groups of voters. These organizations will submit their proposals to the Central and territorial electoral commissions on the dates established by the Central Electoral Commission. Reports on the dates for the submission of proposals will be published at least 6 days before the end of the submission period. The Central Electoral Commission and territorial electoral commissions will report their decisions on the proposals to organizations without delay and will publish the membership of commissions and their location and telephone numbers in the appropriate rayon and city newspapers within three days.

One member of each territorial and local electoral commission may be appointed by a party registered with the Central Electoral Commission unless its representative has been appointed to the same electoral commission by either the Central Electoral Commission or a territorial electoral commission. The party will notify the appropriate electoral commission of its decision before the deadline set by the Central Electoral Commission.

If a commission has fewer than 13 members by the deadline set by the Central Electoral Commission, the Central (or territorial) electoral commission will appoint additional commission members to bring the number up to 13 within three days and will notify the appropriate electoral commission of its action without delay.

Within two days after the end of the period for the formation of territorial and local electoral commissions, the commission will elect a chairman and secretary from among its members and will report this without delay to the Central and territorial electoral commissions.

The term of territorial and local electoral commissions will end on the day that the next Georgian Republic assembly elections are scheduled.

Territorial and local electoral commissions will publish their membership and the address and telephone numbers of the commission in the appropriate local newspapers without delay.

Article 26. Powers of Territorial Electoral Commissions

The territorial electoral commission will

1) oversee compliance with this law and secure its uniform application throughout the territory under the jurisdiction of the corresponding assembly

2) appoint a deputy chairman and four members to each subordinate local electoral commission, and additional commission members if necessary; publish the membership of commissions and their addresses.

3) form electoral districts within the territory under the jurisdiction of city (with the exception of cities of republic jurisdiction with no municipal rayons or cities with no attached settlements and rural communities), settlement, and rural assemblies;

4) direct the activities of local and precinct electoral commissions and receive their reports;

5) distribute money among subordinate local and precinct electoral commissions; monitor the provision of local and precinct electoral commissions with premises, vehicles, and communications equipment and investigate other matters pertaining to material and technical supplies for elections within its territory;

6) register parties acting autonomously in the elections and electoral blocs for participation in the elections within the territory under the jurisdiction of the corresponding assembly; arrange for the printing of the election posters of parties, electoral blocs, and their candidates;

7) secure equal terms for the participation of candidates for deputy, parties, and electoral blocs in the election campaign;

8) monitor the fulfillment of the requirements of this law by local news media;

9) hear the reports of executive and administrative bodies of local government and administrators of state enterprises, establishments, and organizations on matters connected with election preparations and proceedings;

10) arrange for the printing of ballots;

11) investigate statements and complaints pertaining to the decisions and actions of local and precinct electoral commissions and issue rulings on them;

12) conduct elections to the assemblies of the rayon, the city of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons, and the zone of a city of republic jurisdiction; determine the results of elections of deputies to these assemblies and publish the results in the local press, and issue credentials to elected deputies;

13) schedule and conduct elections to the assemblies of the rayon, the city of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons, and the zone of a city of republic jurisdiction in the event of the resignation or recall of a deputy;

14) exercise other powers in conformity with this law.

Article 27. Powers of Local Electoral Commissions

The local electoral commission will:

1) oversee compliance with this law and secure its uniform application within the territory under the jurisdiction of the corresponding assembly;

2) form electoral precincts at the request of the appropriate local governing or administrative bodies and with their consent, and publish lists of electoral precincts;

3) appoint the deputy chairman and two members of the precinct electoral commission, and additional commission members if necessary; publish the membership of commissions and their addresses;

4) direct the activities of precinct electoral commissions and receive their reports;

5) oversee the compilation of voter rolls and their public display;

6) register candidates for deputy in the appropriate assembly and issue credentials to them; arrange for the printing of posters with biographical data and the campaign platforms of candidates for deputy;

7) register the authorized representatives of candidates for deputy running for a seat in the corresponding assembly and issue them the necessary credentials;

8) secure equal terms of participation for candidates for deputy, parties, and electoral blocs in the election campaign;

9) decide the locations for the display of election posters with the consent of local administrative bodies and arrange for the manufacture of the appropriate display stands if necessary;

10) monitor the fulfillment of the requirements of this law by the news media;

11) receive the reports of executive and administrative bodies of local government and the administrators of state enterprises, establishments, and organizations on matters connected with election preparations and proceedings;

12) assist labor collectives, public organizations and movements, collectives of secondary specialized and higher academic institutions, and voters in organizing meetings with candidates for deputy and assist candidates for deputy in organizing meetings with them in these collectives and in the place of residence of voters; make the arrangements for group meetings of candidates for deputy with voters in accordance with a schedule established by it and approved by the candidates;

13) approve the text of ballots for electoral districts and arrange for their printing and distribution to precinct electoral commissions;

14) determine the number of voters in the electoral district, the number of voters casting a ballot, and the final results of the elections and publish them in the local press, and issue credentials to the elected deputies;

15) divide the electoral district into the appropriate sections;

16) schedule and conduct runoff elections in subordinate electoral districts;

17) schedule and conduct repeat elections in subordinate electoral districts;

18) schedule and conduct elections in the electoral district in the event of the resignation or recall of a deputy;

19) investigate statements and complaints pertaining to the decisions and actions of precinct electoral commissions and issue rulings on them;

20) exercise other powers in conformity with this law.

Article 28. Precinct Electoral Commissions

Precinct electoral commissions for elections of deputies to Georgian Republic assemblies will consist of a commission chairman, his deputy, a secretary, and at least two members, and will be formed no earlier than six days and no later than nine days after the list of electoral precincts has been published. The minimum number of commission members will be decided by the corresponding local electoral commission.

The deputy chairman and two members of the precinct electoral commission will be appointed by the appropriate local electoral commission with a view to the proposals of local governing or administrative bodies, public organizations and movements, and labor collectives, collectives of secondary specialized and higher academic institutions, and groups of voters located within the given territory.

Parties and electoral blocs registered with the Central Electoral Commission can appoint one member each to the precinct electoral commission.

If the number of members of the precinct electoral commission is lower than the specified number on the 9th day after the list of electoral precincts has been published, the local electoral commission will appoint the necessary number of additional members within two days.

Announcements of the nomination and appointment of members to the precinct electoral commission will be submitted to the local electoral commission no later than five days after the list of electoral precincts has been published.

Within two days after the commission has been formed, it will elect a chairman and secretary of the precinct electoral commission from among its members and will report this to territorial and local electoral commissions without delay.

The term of precinct electoral commissions will end as soon as the elections are over.

The precinct electoral commission will publish a list of its members and the address and telephone numbers of the commission in local newspapers without delay.

Article 29. Powers of Precinct Electoral Commissions

The precinct electoral commission will:

1) compile the precinct voter roll;

2) acquaint the voters with the voter roll, receive and investigate reports of inaccuracies in the voter roll, and make decisions on the necessary changes;

3) issue a certificate to eligible voters on demand—the voting rights certificate;

4) notify the population of the location of the electoral commission and its work hours, as well as the date of election day and the location of the polling place;

5) arrange for the preparation of premises, ballot boxes, voting booths, and information display stands;

6) organize voting in the electoral precinct on election day;

7) determine the number of voters in the electoral precinct, the number of voters casting a ballot, and the number of votes for each candidate for deputy;

8) investigate statements and complaints pertaining to preparations for elections and the organization of voting and make the necessary decisions on them;

9) exercise other powers in conformity with this law.

Article 30. Appointment of Members to Electoral Commissions and Procedure for Nominating Commission Members

A republic governing body or leader of a party registered with the Central Electoral Commission for the purpose of participating in republic assembly elections will have the right to appoint representatives to all electoral commissions; a regional (or local) governing body or its leader will have this right with regard to commissions created within the corresponding territory, and assemblies of primary groups will have this right with regard to the corresponding precinct commissions.

The following will have the right to nominate their representatives to serve as members of electoral commissions:

1) a local governing or administrative body of the Georgian Republic—to commissions acting within the territory under the jurisdiction of the appropriate assembly;

2) a republic organ of a public organization or movement—to all electoral commissions; a regional (or local) governing body—to electoral commissions formed within the territory of the corresponding region; assemblies of primary groups acting within the territory under the jurisdiction of the local electoral commission—to the corresponding electoral commissions. These bodies will nominate their representatives at meetings (assemblies or conferences);

3) an assembly (or conference) of collectives of higher academic institutions (or their branches)—to the corresponding territorial electoral commissions;

4) an assembly (or conference) of labor collectives and collectives of secondary specialized and higher academic institutions (or their branches and schools) located within the territory of the local electoral commission—to the corresponding local and precinct electoral commissions;

5) voters petitioning an electoral commission—to the territorial electoral commission if the petition has been signed by at least 100 voters living within the corresponding territory; to the local electoral commission if the petition has been signed by at least 50 voters living within the corresponding territory, and to the precinct electoral commission if the petition has been signed by at least 20 voters living within the territory of the electoral district.

The nomination or appointment of electoral commission members will necessitate the petitioning of the appropriate body within the deadlines set in this law by a local governing or administrative body, a governing body or leader of a party, or other individuals eligible in conformity with this article to nominate or appointment members to electoral commissions, indicating the first and last name, date of birth, party affiliation, position (or occupation), place of employment, address, and telephone number of the person nominated (or appointed) to serve on the electoral commission. In the cases specified in this article, the following will be attached to the petition:

a) a copy of the record of the assembly (or meeting or conference). The copy of the record (or statement) will state the name, address, and telephone number of the nominating body, the number of members of the body (or collective), the number of people present at the assembly (or meeting or conference), the result of the vote, the date the decision was made, and the first and last name of the individual nominated (or appointed) to serve as a commission member. The record will be signed by the chairman and secretary of the assembly (or meeting or conference);

b) in the cases listed in point five of the second paragraph of this article, the first and last names, dates of birth, identification card series and numbers, home addresses, dates of signature, and signatures of supporting voters, and the same data and telephone numbers of the initiators of the nomination.

The individual submitting the petition will be issued a dated receipt for the petition.

Article 31. Procedure for Convening and Holding Assemblies, Meetings, Conferences, and Congresses

The procedure for convening and holding meetings (conferences, congresses) of local governing or administrative bodies, political parties, and public organizations and

movements of the republic will be stipulated in the legal instruments regulating their activities.

Assemblies (or conferences) of labor collectives and collectives of secondary specialized and higher academic institutions will be convened by their councils or trade-union committees (bureaus) in conjunction with the administration on their own initiative or at the request of one-fifth of the members of the collective. The assembly will be legally empowered if it is attended by more than half of the members of the collective; the conference will be legally empowered if it is attended by at least two-thirds of the elected delegates. Members will confirm their attendance of the assembly (or conference) by signing the registration sheet, notarized by the chairman and secretary of the assembly (or conference). Any voter can be nominated to serve on an electoral commission, but he must accept the nomination. A person will be considered nominated if more than half of the registered participants in the assembly (or total conference membership) vote for him. In elections by conference delegates, the standard of representation will be established by the body convening the conference.

A record of the assembly, meeting, or conference will be kept until the deputy's powers have been confirmed by the Assembly Mandate Commission.

Article 32. Procedure for Changing Membership of Electoral Commissions

Any member of an electoral commission will be relieved of his duties by the commission:

a) on the grounds stipulated in the second paragraph of Article 20 of this law;

b) in the event of resignation;

c) in the event of recall or dismissal.

A commission member may be recalled by the body nominating or appointing him.

A commission member may be dismissed by a superior electoral commission (and a member of the Central Electoral Commission may be dismissed by this commission itself) if the commission member violates election laws or systematically fails to perform his duties. The decision to dismiss will be made at a commission meeting by a majority of the full membership by secret ballot.

If a commission member is released from his duties in the cases listed in this article or in the case of the death of the commission member, if he was a representative of a party acting autonomously in the elections or an electoral bloc, the corresponding party or electoral bloc will have two weeks to appoint a new commission member. In other cases the new commission member will be appointed within the same period by a body formed by the commission according to the procedure established by this law.

Article 33. Assistance of Electoral Commissions in Exercise of Their Powers

Decisions made by electoral commissions within the limits of their powers will be binding for all state, party, and public organs, news media, enterprises, establishments, organizations, and officials. They will be obligated to assist electoral commissions in their work and supply them with the necessary information and materials.

Electoral commissions will have the right to address questions connected with election preparations and proceedings to state, party, and public organs, enterprises, establishments, organizations, officials, and news media administrators, who will be obligated to consider the questions and give the electoral commission a response within 3 days.

The decisions and actions of electoral commissions may be appealed in a superior electoral commission, and in a court in the cases stipulated in this law.

V. Voter Rolls, Voter Identification Cards, and Voting Rights Certificates**Article 34. Voter Rolls and Procedure for Compiling Them**

A voter roll will be compiled for each electoral precinct in two copies and will be signed by the chairman and secretary of the precinct electoral commission. The electoral commission may enlist the help of members of the general public to compile the list.

Local governing or administrative bodies of the republic will keep records of voters and provide precinct electoral commissions with information about the voters living within the territory under their jurisdiction needed for the compilation of voter rolls.

The rolls will list the last and first names, dates of birth, and addresses of voters.

The voter rolls of electoral precincts formed in hospitals and other in-patient medical establishments, on ships at sea on election day, and in Georgian establishments located outside the republic will be compiled on the basis of data furnished by the administrators of these establishments and the captains of the ships.

The names of voters will be arranged on the voter roll in an order convenient for the organization of voting.

Article 35. Procedure for Including Citizens on Voter Rolls

All Georgian citizens residing permanently within the territory under the jurisdiction of the corresponding assembly, reaching the age of 18 before or on election day, residing within the territory of the precinct at the time the voter roll is compiled, and having the right to vote will be included on the voter roll.

A voter can be listed on only one roll.

Article 36. Public Display of Voter Rolls, Distribution of Voter Identification Cards, and Right To Protest Inaccuracies on Voter Roll

Voter rolls will be on public display 15 days before the elections, and two days before the elections in electoral precincts formed in hospitals and other in-patient medical establishments.

Within 10 days after the voter rolls have been put on public display by precinct electoral commissions, voter cards will be distributed to voters, stating the first and last name of the voter, the number of his listing on the voter roll, and the number and address of the electoral precinct.

Citizens will be guaranteed a chance to read the voter roll and check the accuracy of its compilation on the premises of the precinct electoral commission.

Each citizen will have the right to protest the non-inclusion or inaccurate inclusion of voters on the roll or the exclusion of voters from the roll, as well as other errors in the list. Statements of inaccuracies will be processed by the precinct electoral commission, which will be obligated to investigate the complaint and make the necessary corrections or issue the complainant a copy of a substantiated denial of his request within two days, or without delay if the complaint is made on election eve or election day. This decision can be appealed in a rayon (or municipal) court no later than five days before the elections, and the court must investigate the complaint within three days. The decision of the rayon (or municipal) court will be final. Corrections of the voter roll ordered by the court will be made without delay by the precinct electoral commission.

Article 37. Voting Rights Certificate. Supplementary List of Voters

If the voter has moved within the territory under the jurisdiction of the same assembly between the time the voter rolls are put on public display and the start of the voting, the precinct electoral commission will issue the voter a voting rights certificate at his request and on the submission of an identification card or another document certifying his identity. The appropriate notation will be made on the voter roll. The voter will sign a receipt for the certificate.

On the basis of the voting rights certificate, the voter will be included on the supplementary list of voters in the polling place in his neighborhood on election day.

VI. Nomination of Candidates for Deputy to Georgian Republic Assemblies, Lists of Candidates for Deputy, Their Registration, and the Ballot**Article 38. Submission of Lists of Candidates for Deputy**

Lists of candidates for deputy (party lists) may be submitted by political parties acting autonomously in the elections and electoral blocs after their registration in

the appropriate electoral commissions (see Article 15) and no later than 30 days before the elections.

Each party and electoral bloc acting autonomously in the elections to the given assembly may submit one party list to the appropriate electoral commission. The number of candidates on the list must not exceed the number of deputies to be elected to the assembly.

The party list can include only members of this party or individuals with no party affiliations, and the party list submitted by an electoral bloc can include only the members of the parties united in this bloc or individuals with no party affiliations. Individuals who are simultaneously members of another party participating in the elections, with the exception of the parties united in a single electoral bloc, may not be included on the party list.

The procedure for choosing candidates for deputy will be established by the parties and electoral blocs themselves.

The same person cannot be included on more than one party list.

The party list will indicate the first and last names, date of birth, profession, position (or occupation), place of employment and residence, and party affiliation of each candidate.

The list of party candidates will be signed by an official of the party or of the appropriate regional party organ, and the list of electoral bloc candidates will be signed by officials of all the parties united in the bloc or officials of the corresponding regional organs of these parties. Statements of consent to run for office on this list by each candidate will be attached to the list.

Article 39. Nomination of Candidates for Deputy in Electoral Districts

Parties and electoral blocs may nominate candidates for deputy from electoral districts after their party lists have been registered, and groups of voters may nominate these candidates by means of petitions.

Each party (or electoral bloc) acting autonomously in the elections may nominate as many candidates for deputy for each electoral district as the number of seats in each electoral district and no later than 25 days before the elections. Only a person included on the registered party list of the party (or electoral bloc) may be nominated.

A person can only be nominated as a candidate for deputy to an assembly from one electoral district.

The procedure for choosing candidates for deputy will be established by the parties and electoral blocs themselves.

To nominate a candidate for deputy from an electoral district, the party will petition the corresponding local electoral commission. The petition will list the first and last name, date of birth, profession, position (or occupation), place of employment and residence, and party

affiliation of the candidate for deputy and the number of the electoral district for which he is being nominated.

A group of voters may nominate any person meeting the requirements in Article 2 of this law for an electoral district if he is supported by at least 100 voters in this district or by another number of voters if the Central Electoral Commission rules otherwise. The nomination of candidates will begin 42 days before the elections and end 33 days before election day. For this purpose, the group of voters may submit a statement to the appropriate local electoral commission at least 38 days before the elections and then collect the signatures of voters supporting the candidate. The statement will indicate the name and patronymic, date of birth, profession, position (or occupation), place of employment and residence, and party affiliation of the candidate for deputy and the name of a representative of the group of voters and his address and telephone number.

Article 40. List of People Supporting Independent Candidates for Deputy

A candidate for deputy nominated from an electoral district by a group of voters must be supported by at least 100 voters (or another number of voters if the Central Electoral Commission rules otherwise) in the electoral district, who confirm this support with their signatures. The list of people supporting the independent candidate will be submitted to the appropriate local electoral commission at least 33 days before the elections.

Each list of signatures of supporting voters will be headed by the name of the independent candidate for deputy and a statement in support of him. Each signature will be followed by the first and last name of the signer, his date of birth, address, identification card series and number, and the date of the signature. Both sides of the sheet can be used for signatures. The signatures will be numbered. The sheet will be signed by the person responsible for the collection of the signatures and will list his address and telephone number.

A voter will have the right to sign in support of as many candidates for deputy in his electoral district as the number of seats in the given electoral district.

Electoral commissions will have the right to check the authenticity of the signatures. If the same voter supports more than one candidate from his electoral district, the later signatures will be considered invalid. Forged and forced signatures will also be invalidated on the basis of a written statement by the signatory. If the number of signatures is lower than the required number for these reasons, the group of voters will have three days to supplement the list of supporters. If this condition is not met, the independent candidate will not be registered. Complaints about signatures will be processed by the appropriate electoral commission no later than the third day after the list of supporters has been submitted to it.

Only members of electoral commissions and, in the event of a complaint, judicial bodies will have the right to read the lists of supporters.

The lists of supporters will be destroyed 15 days before the elections.

Article 41. Registration of Candidates for Deputy Nominated on Party Lists and from Electoral Districts

The party list will be registered by the appropriate local electoral commission within three days after its submission.

Candidates for deputy nominated by electoral districts will be registered by the appropriate local electoral commissions. Independent candidates will be registered no earlier than the fourth day and no later than the eighth day after their nomination, and the candidates of parties and electoral blocs will be registered no later than the third after their nomination.

Within three days after the registration of candidates for deputy, the corresponding electoral commissions will issue a candidate's identification card to a representative of the party (or electoral bloc) or to the candidate for deputy.

The decision on the registration of the party list will be made upon the receipt of the following documents: a statement signed by an official of the party or its regional organ (or officials of the parties making up the electoral bloc or of their regional organs), a list of candidates, and statements of consent to run for office on this list by each candidate.

The decision on the registration of personally nominated candidates for deputy from an electoral district will be made upon the receipt of the following documents: a proposal by an official of the party or its regional organ (or officials of the parties making up the electoral bloc or of their regional organs) and a statement of consent to run for office from this electoral district by the candidate for deputy; and in the case of the independent candidate for deputy, it will be made upon the receipt of a statement of consent to run for office, the statement of the group of voters, and the list of supporters.

The statements of consent to run for office of individuals listed in Article 9 of this law who are nominated as candidates for deputy will include the notation that they will vacate the positions they hold if they are elected assembly members. In conformity with the second paragraph of Article 2 of this law, the statements of consent of candidates for deputy will indicate their intention to resign from a representative governing body if they are elected assembly members.

The person who submits the documents listed above will be issued a receipt by the electoral commission, indicating the date and time of the submission of the documents.

If the documents submitted do not meet the requirements of this law, the commission will notify the people who submitted them of the need to make corrections within three days after the receipt of the documents. The corrected documents must be submitted to the commission at least 25 days before the elections.

A person may not run for office on different party lists or simultaneously on a party list and as an independent candidate or from more than one electoral district in elections to the same assembly. If a person has consented to the inclusion of his name on more than one party list or has consented to be included on a party list and to run for office as an independent candidate, or if he has consented to run for a seat in the same assembly from more than one electoral district, his nomination will be withdrawn by the appropriate local or territorial electoral commission or the Central Electoral Commission.

Party lists and the names of candidates for deputy will be numbered in the order they were received by the electoral commission and will be published in newspapers in electoral districts within five days after the end of the registration period. A list of parties denied registration and the reasons for the denials will be published within the same period.

Article 42. Reversal of Decision To Nominate Candidates for Deputy in Georgian Republic Assembly Elections. Withdrawal of Candidates for Deputy from Race

A party or electoral bloc may reverse its decision to nominate a candidate for deputy at any time before the elections. The nomination will be withdrawn by the appropriate electoral commission on the basis of a request signed by an official of the party (or electoral bloc).

A candidate for deputy may withdraw from the race at any time before the elections by notifying the appropriate electoral commission.

The local electoral commission will publish this news within 3 days after it has been notified, or without delay if there are fewer than 5 days left before the elections.

Article 43. Ballot

The ballot will indicate the name of the assembly, the number and name of the electoral district, the first and last name, date of birth, profession, position (or occupation), place of employment, and party affiliation of candidates for deputy, and the name of the party (or electoral bloc) nominating the candidate for deputy (if the candidate for deputy was nominated by petition by a group of voters, the ballot will say "independent"). In the order in which the statements nominating the candidates were submitted to the corresponding electoral commission, each name should be preceded by a blank square for the insertion of an ordinal number.

Ballots will be printed by territorial electoral commissions in Georgian and in Abkhaz (within the territory of

Abkhazia), and if necessary, also in another language spoken by part of the population of the electoral district.

Ballots will be checked carefully. Territorial electoral commissions will arrange for the distribution of ballots to local electoral commissions at least five days before the elections. The number of ballots distributed to each precinct electoral commission should exceed the number of voters in the precinct by around five percent. The chairman of the commission, his deputy, and the secretary will sign for the ballots.

VII. Guarantees of Activity of Parties, Electoral Blocs, and Candidates for Deputy in Georgian Republic Assembly Elections

Article 44. Right of Candidate for Deputy To Address Gatherings, Use News Media, and Receive Information

Candidates for deputy will participate in the election campaign on equal terms from the time of their registration.

Candidates for deputy will have the right to address assemblies, conferences, meetings, and rallies and express their views in the press and on television and radio.

State and public organs, administrators of enterprises, establishments, and organizations, and citizens' independent activity groups will be obligated to assist candidates for deputy in organizing meetings with voters and obtaining the necessary reference and informational materials.

Article 45. Campaign Platforms of Parties, Electoral Blocs, and Independent Candidates in Georgian Republic Assembly Elections

The candidate for deputy from a party (or electoral bloc) will have the right to publicly announce the campaign platform of his party (or electoral bloc), and the independent candidate will have the same right with regard to his own campaign platform. The platform of a party (or electoral bloc) or an independent candidate must not contain war propaganda or appeals for the violent change or overthrow of the existing government and social order, the violation of Georgia's territorial integrity, or ethnic enmity and hostility, and must not fuel religious strife.

Electoral commissions will arrange for the publication of the campaign platforms of parties and electoral blocs and of independent candidates in republic and local newspapers within 10 days after the registration of party lists and independent candidates.

Article 46. Authorized Representatives of Candidates for Deputy in Georgian Republic Assembly Elections

The candidate for deputy may have 10 authorized representatives, who will manage the election campaign of the candidate for deputy or party (electoral bloc) in the corresponding electoral district, will solicit support for

him or it, and will represent the interests of the candidate for deputy or the party (electoral bloc) in relations with state and public organs and with voters, and also in electoral commissions.

A candidate for deputy will choose authorized representatives and will notify the appropriate electoral commission of them after he has been registered as a candidate. His statement should indicate the name and patronymic, work and home addresses, and telephone numbers of the authorized representatives. The electoral commission will register the authorized representatives within 3 days after receiving this statement and will issue them the appropriate credentials.

A candidate for deputy may terminate the powers of his authorized representative and replace him, reporting this to the appropriate electoral commission, at any time before the elections. The authorized representative may give up his powers at any time before the elections.

At the request of the candidate for deputy, his authorized representatives (no more than five) will be released from production and office duties for the period of the election campaign. Four of them will be given a leave without pay, but one will receive his average wage from the funds allocated for elections. The wage will be paid to him at his place of employment, and this will be ordered in the appropriate instructions to the manager of the enterprise, establishment, or organization. The grounds for the release from production and office duties will be the request from the candidate for deputy, indicating the term of the release and certified by the appropriate electoral commission. After the campaign is over, a bill for the wages will be submitted for payment to the appropriate electoral commission.

The authorized representative may not be a member of an electoral commission.

Article 47. Release of Candidates for Deputy from Production and Office Duties for Participation in Election Campaign

After candidates for deputy have been registered, they will be released at their own request from production and office duties for the time of the election campaign or for meetings with voters and appearances at gatherings and rallies and on radio and television.

They will be paid their average wage from the funds allocated for elections.

Candidates for deputy will be released on the basis of their own request, and their wages will be paid by their place of employment, as ordered in the appropriate instructions to the manager of the enterprise, establishment, or organization. After the campaign is over, the bill for the wages will be submitted for payment to the appropriate electoral commission.

After registration, the candidate for deputy may not be called up for active military service, military training sessions, or labor service. If he is already undergoing a

military training session or labor service, the service will be interrupted until the day after elections. An elected deputy will be exempt from military training sessions and labor service for his term in office.

Article 48. Right of Candidate for Deputy to Free Travel

After registration, the candidate for deputy will have the right of free travel on all types of passenger transport (with the exception of taxis) from his place of residence to the territory under the jurisdiction of the corresponding assembly and within this territory.

Article 49. Immunity of Candidate for Deputy

The candidate for deputy may not be charged with a crime, detained, arrested, or subjected to a search or to administrative penalties by court order without the consent of the appropriate local electoral commission.

Article 50. Election Campaigns

Citizens of the Republic of Georgia, parties, public organizations and movements, labor collectives, collectives of secondary specialized and higher academic institutions, and authorized representatives will be guaranteed opportunities for the free and thorough discussion of the campaign platforms of parties, electoral blocs, and candidates for deputy participating in the elections and of the political, professional, and personal qualities of candidates for deputy and the right to campaign for or against a party, an electoral bloc, or a candidate for deputy at assemblies and rallies, in the press, and on television and radio.

Electoral commissions will furnish them with premises and sites for assemblies and rallies.

The parties and electoral blocs taking part in the elections and the candidates for deputy will hold meetings with voters at assemblies or in another form convenient for the voters. The electoral commission will work in conjunction with the appropriate local governing and administrative bodies and public organizations and movements to assist in holding these meetings and notifying voters in advance of the time and place of meetings.

After parties, electoral blocs, and candidates for deputy have been registered with the appropriate electoral commission, they will have the right to compose campaign appeals, declarations, messages, leaflets, photographic materials, and so forth (hereafter referred to as "posters"). The poster will represent a printed product not requiring special authorization for its manufacture. The provisions of this law will extend to the posters in all other respects.

Territorial and local electoral commissions will work with the appropriate state establishments to arrange for the printing of campaign platforms and campaign posters with data on the candidates for deputy at least 15 days before the elections for candidates, parties, and electoral blocs in the following numbers: one poster for

each 100 voters for the candidate for deputy and one poster for each 500 voters for parties and electoral blocs in each residential community. A sketch of the poster and the text must be submitted to the appropriate commission on the dates it specifies. Parties, electoral blocs, and candidates for deputy will have the right to print these posters themselves. In this case, the electoral commission will reimburse them for these expenses upon the receipt of an invoice, but the sum will be no greater than the amount allocated for this purpose by the commission.

By the end of the registration period, local governing and administrative bodies will work in conjunction with electoral commissions to allocate easily accessible, high-traffic areas for the display of campaign posters in each electoral precinct to the parties and electoral blocs participating in the elections and to candidates for deputy.

Local governing and administrative bodies may prohibit the display of campaign posters on certain public buildings for the purpose of the preservation of architectural and cultural monuments and traffic safety. Agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will remove these posters.

Removing, tearing, effacing, or defacing campaign posters displayed in authorized locations will be prohibited and will incur the appropriate penalties.

Posters must not contain war propaganda or appeals for the violent change or overthrow of the existing government and social order, the violation of Georgia's territorial integrity, or ethnic enmity and hostility, must not fuel religious strife, and must not contain data impairing the honor and dignity of any individual.

Campaigning, with the exception of the campaign materials on public display, will be prohibited on election day.

Article 51. Participation of News Media in Election Campaign

Parties, electoral blocs, and candidates for deputy nominated in the same district will have equal rights to use the state news media after they have been registered with an electoral commission.

A party or electoral bloc taking part in the elections will have the right to publish its campaign program and platform in the republic and local press no later than five days before the elections, and the candidate for deputy will have the same right in the local press. Copies of the documents must be delivered to the newspaper at least 10 days before the elections. The documents will be published in order of their submission.

The working procedures of the news media during election preparations and proceedings will be established by the Central Electoral Commission.

The publication of the results of any public opinion polls pertaining to the elections will be prohibited in the last seven days before the elections.

VIII. Procedure for Voting and Summing Up Election Results; Second Round of Elections

Article 52. Polling Place and Time

Votes in Georgian Republic assembly elections may be cast from 7:00 to 20:00 on election day. The precinct electoral commission will notify voters of the polling place and time at least five days before the elections.

The closure of the polling place and the interruption of voting will not be permitted during the balloting hours.

In the electoral precincts formed in hospitals and other in-patient medical establishments, on ships at sea on election day, and in nearly inaccessible locations, the precinct electoral commissions may close the polls at any time after all of the voters on the roll have cast a ballot.

Article 53. Organization of Voting

The voting will take place in specially designated facilities not used exclusively by one party. The premises should be equipped with the sufficient number of booths or rooms for secret balloting, clearly marked areas for the issuance of ballots, and ballot boxes. The ballot boxes will be installed in such a way that the voters will have to pass through the voting booths or rooms to get to the boxes. The voting booths (or rooms) should be equipped with pens. Lists of the candidates nominated in the electoral district and ballot marking instructions must be displayed in the polling place and voting rooms.

If a candidate on the ballot is no longer in the race, this information must be displayed prominently in the electoral precinct and in the voting booths (or rooms).

The precinct electoral commission will be responsible for organizing the voting, guaranteeing the secrecy of the electorate's expression of will, equipping the polling places and maintaining the necessary order in them. The chairman of the precinct electoral commission will be responsible for the observance of procedure in the polling places within his territory on election day; the decisions he makes for the purpose of maintaining order will be binding for all. Armed individuals will not be allowed to enter the polling place. Militia personnel on duty may be on the premises only for the amount of time needed to cast a ballot.

Before the voting begins on election day, the ballot boxes will be checked and sealed or locked by the chairman of the precinct electoral commission in the presence of all commission members, after which verification sheets, signed by the commission members and the first voter who comes to cast a ballot, will be inserted in the boxes. The time of insertion will be noted on the sheet.

Each voter will cast his own ballot. Voting for other individuals will not be permitted. Ballots will be issued

by the precinct electoral commission on the basis of the voter roll upon the voter's submission of an identification card or other document certifying his identity and a voter card. The voter will sign for the ballot on the voter roll. Voting rights certificates will be attached to the supplementary list of voters.

Citizens whose names have been left off the voter roll by error will be included on the supplementary list of voters on the basis of identification papers and a document indicating their place of residence.

If certain voters cannot come to the polling place for reasons of health or other reasons, the precinct electoral commission will authorize commission members to arrange for these voters to vote in their homes at their request on the basis of a supplement to the voter roll, for which the appropriate notation will be made on the voter roll. In these cases, at least two commission members will organize the voting. A portable ballot box will be used for these ballots. The same procedure will be used if voters are confined in places of detention without a court order.

Article 54. Voting Procedure

Ballots will be marked by voters in the voting booth or room. No one but the voter may be present when the ballot is marked. A voter who is incapable of marking the ballot himself will have the right to choose a person, other than a member of the electoral commission or an authorized representative of a candidate for deputy (or a party or electoral bloc), to accompany him into the voting booth or room.

When the voter marks the ballot, he will insert numbers in the blank squares preceding the names of the candidates in the following order: the number "1" in the square preceding the name of the candidate he prefers to all the rest; the number "2" before the name of the candidate most acceptable after the first choice; the number "3" before the name of the candidate he prefers after the first two, and so forth. The voter will have the right to stop at any number.

If the voter inadvertently spoils the ballot, he may turn the spoiled ballot in to the chairman or secretary of the precinct commission and receive a new one. A corner of the spoiled ballot will be cut off in the presence of the voter and will be kept separate from the ballots.

The voter will insert the marked ballots into the box.

The polling place will close at 20:00. Voters on the premises at that time will be able to vote.

Article 55. Tallying of Votes in Electoral Precinct

The following sequence must be observed in the tallying of votes:

1) After the balloting is over, the electoral commission will count the unused ballots and tie them in bundles. The bundle will be inscribed with the name and number

of the electoral precinct and the number of unused ballots; the bundle will be signed by the chairman (or deputy chairman) and secretary of the commission and sealed with the commission seal; spoiled ballots will be counted, tied in bundles, and inscribed in the same manner;

2) Using the voter roll and the supplementary lists of voters, the electoral commission will determine the total number of voters in the electoral precinct and the number of voters participating in the elections—i.e., the number of voters receiving ballots;

3) The chairman of the precinct electoral commission will check that the precinct seals are intact, will unseal the ballot boxes, and will verify the presence of verification sheets in the boxes in the presence of commission members;

4) The commission will count the number of ballots in the boxes and the voided ballots. The voided ballots will be sealed in an envelope in such a way that a ballot cannot be removed from the envelope or inserted in it without breaking the seal. The envelope will be inscribed with the name and number of the electoral precinct, the number of ballots in the envelope, and their condition;

5) A ballot will be voided in the following cases:

- a) it is counterfeit, or
- b) the number "1," indicating the first choice, does not precede any name, or
- c) the number "1," indicating the first choice, precedes several names, or
- d) the number "1," indicating the first choice, precedes the name of one candidate along with another number or numbers, or
- e) it is impossible to determine which candidate the voter chose.

All other ballots will be valid;

6) The commission will sort the ballots and count the number of votes cast for each candidate (the number of times the number "1" precedes his name). After this the ballots will be processed according to the procedure stipulated in point four;

7) The precinct electoral commission will discuss the results of the tallying at its meeting and will include the results in the record of the meeting. The number of copies of the record should exceed the number of candidates on the ballot by two. Each copy of the record will be signed by the chairman, his deputy, the secretary, and the members of the commission and will be sealed with the commission seal;

8) The first copy of the record and all ballots will be sent without delay to the appropriate local electoral commission according to the procedure it establishes. The

second copy will be kept by the precinct electoral commission, and one copy will be given to an authorized representative of each candidate for deputy.

If there are doubts about the authenticity of a ballot, the precinct electoral commission will settle the matter by a vote.

Article 56. Establishment of Election Results in Electoral District by Local Electoral Commissions. Election Quota. Publication of Election Results

The local electoral commission will establish the following for each electoral district on the basis of the records received from precinct electoral commissions: the number of unused ballots, the total number of voters, the number of voters casting ballots, the number of valid and invalid ballots, the election quota, and the election results. The establishment of election results will be accomplished by the method of the single transmitted vote and in conformity with the instructions of the Central Electoral Commission of the Georgian Republic.

The local electoral commission may invalidate the elections in an electoral precinct where flagrant violations of this law took place. Violations of the Election Law must be reported to the local electoral commission no later than the next day after the elections, and the commission will make the decision to invalidate the elections within three days. The tallying of votes by local electoral commissions will not be permitted before decisions are made on complaints that might be used as grounds for declaring the elections invalid.

To establish the election quota, the chairman of the local electoral commission will divide the number of valid ballots in the electoral district by a number exceeding the number of district mandates by one and then add one to the result.

The resulting number (without any fractions) will represent the quota, or the number of votes required to elect a candidate.

Deputies elected for the electoral district will be the candidates receiving a number of votes equal to or surpassing the election quota and using the method of the single transmitted vote.

Elections for the electoral district will be invalidated if the total number of voters in precincts where the elections were declared invalid exceeds the number of voters in the electoral district by 10 percent.

If the district elections are declared invalid, the appropriate local electoral commission will schedule a second round of elections for the electoral district within two weeks after the general elections.

If district elections are declared invalid in the second round (in conformity with the fifth paragraph of this article), the appropriate local electoral commission will hold repeat elections within two months after the second round.

The local electoral commission will confirm the results of the elections at a meeting and compile a record.

The number of copies of the record should exceed the number of candidates on the ballot by four. All copies of the record will be signed by the chairman of the commission, his deputy, the secretary, and the members and will be sealed with the commission seal.

The first copy of the record will be sent to the Central Electoral Commission within seven days after the elections according to the procedure it establishes, the second copy and the unused ballots will be sent to the territorial electoral commission, a third copy will be kept by the electoral commission, and one copy each will be given to the Mandate Commission of the corresponding assembly and to an authorized representative of each candidate for deputy.

The record will indicate the name and number of the electoral districts and precincts where elections were declared invalid, the number of voters in them, and the reasons for declaring the elections invalid; the total number of voters in each electoral district, the number of voters casting a ballot, the number of valid and invalid ballots (with a separate notation of the number of counterfeit ballots), the election quota, the number of votes received by each candidate for deputy as first choice, and a list of elected deputies in the order of their election (stipulating the choice on the basis of which each was elected); the total number of voters in the territory under the jurisdiction of the assembly, the number of voters casting a ballot, the number of deputies to be elected, the number of elected deputies, and a list of the deputies in alphabetical order.

Within 10 days after the election results have been summed up, the local electoral commission will publish the results of elections to the assembly in the corresponding territory in local newspapers and report the results on local radio stations. In addition to the data listed in paragraph 11 of this article, the report will include the party affiliation, date of birth, profession, position (or occupation), and place of employment of each elected deputy.

Article 57. Second Round of Elections

The second round of district balloting will be scheduled within 2 weeks after the elections if the elections for this district were declared invalid. All candidates participating in the first round will be eligible to run for office in the second round.

If the elections are declared invalid in the second round (in conformity with paragraph five of Article 56 of this law), the appropriate local electoral commission will hold repeat elections within two months after election day.

In the second round of balloting, the tallying of votes and determination of election results will be conducted in conformity with the procedure specified above. The

appropriate record will be sent to the Central Electoral Commission and territorial electoral commission within five days, and the results of the elections will be published within 10 days.

Article 58. Summation of Election Results by Central Electoral Commission

The Central Electoral Commission will sum up the results of elections to Georgian Republic assemblies at a meeting within 25 days after the elections on the basis of the records received from territorial and local electoral commissions and will enter the results into a record of this meeting.

The first copy of the record will be kept by the Central Electoral Commission, and the second copy will be sent to the Georgian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The record will indicate the name and number of the electoral districts and precincts where elections were declared invalid, the number of voters in them, and the reasons elections were declared invalid; the total number of voters within the territory under the jurisdiction of each assembly; the number of voters casting a ballot, the number of deputies to be elected, the number of elected deputies, and a list of the deputies in alphabetical order.

Within five days after the election results have been summed up, the Central Electoral Commission will publish the results of the elections in republic newspapers and report the results on television and radio.

IX. Elections of Deputies to Assemblies of Rayon, City of Republic Jurisdiction with Municipal Rayons, and Zone of City of Republic Jurisdiction

Article 59. Membership of Assembly of Rayon, City of Republic Jurisdiction with Municipal Rayons, and Zone of City of Republic Jurisdiction. Dates of Assembly Elections

The number of deputies to be elected to the assemblies of rayons, cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons, and zones of cities of republic jurisdiction will be established by the chairman of the Georgian Republic Supreme Soviet within the limits set in this law and with consideration for the proposals of local governing or administrative bodies in the rayon, city, or zone of a city, and also with a view to the size of the population and territory and other local features.

In the assemblies listed above, deputies will be elected by the assemblies elected within the territories under their jurisdiction no later than two months after the general elections. The secretaries of these assemblies will also serve as members of the corresponding assemblies of rayons, cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons, and zones of cities.

The number of deputies to be elected by each assembly will be established by the Georgian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium with a view to the size of the population within the territory of the given assembly.

Article 60. Elections of Deputies to Assemblies of Rayon, City of Republic Jurisdiction with Municipal Rayons, and Zones of City, and Determination and Publication of Election Results by Territorial Electoral Commissions

Elections of deputies to assemblies of rayons, cities of republic jurisdiction with municipal rayons, and zones of a city will be scheduled and held by the appropriate territorial electoral commission for each assembly elected within the territory under its jurisdiction.

The nomination and discussion of candidates for deputy will take place at an open meeting of the assembly according to the procedure established by the assembly. The meeting of the assembly will be headed by the chairman of the territorial electoral commission or his deputy. All members and groups of members of the given assembly may nominate one candidate for deputy each. They will submit their proposals to the chairman of the assembly in writing.

All nominated candidates for deputy who have not withdrawn their names will be listed on a ballot. The voting, tallying of votes, and determination of election results will be conducted by the territorial electoral commission in conformity with articles 54-56 of this law. The elections will be valid if at least two-thirds of the full membership of the assembly participates.

The territorial electoral commission will confirm the results at a meeting and compile a record of the meeting in four copies. All of the copies of the record will be signed by the chairman of the commission, his deputy, the secretary, and the commission members and will be sealed with the commission seal.

The first copy of the record will be sent to the Central Electoral Commission within seven days after the elections according to the procedure it establishes, the second copy will be kept by the electoral commission, and one copy each will be sent to the Mandate Commission of the elected assembly and to the assembly where the elections were held.

The record will indicate the names of the assemblies to be elected and the electing assemblies, the total number of members of electing assemblies, and the number of members voting; the number of valid and invalid ballots, the election quota, the number of votes received by each candidate for deputy as the first choice, and a list of the elected deputies in the order of their election (noting the choice on the basis of which each was elected).

Within 10 days after the results of the elections have been summed up, the territorial electoral commission will publish the results of assembly elections within the corresponding territory in local newspapers and report the results on local radio stations. In addition to the data listed in paragraph seven of this article, the report will include the party affiliation, date of birth, profession, position (or occupation), and place of employment of each elected deputy.

X. Registration of Deputies Elected to Georgian Republic Assemblies and Credentials and Badge of Assembly Member

Article 61. Registration of Deputies Elected to Georgian Republic Assemblies

Within five days after the results of elections have been summed up, the appropriate electoral commission will register the elected deputies and issue them the credentials of elected assembly members.

Article 62. Credentials and Badges of Georgian Republic Assembly Members

After the elected assembly deputies have taken office, they will be issued assembly member credentials in place of the elected member credentials. Assembly members will also be issued badges.

XI. Assignment of Sections of Electoral District to Deputies. Repeat Elections and Elections To Replace Resigned or Recalled Deputies

Article 63. Assignment of Sections of Electoral Districts to Deputies

Within two days after the elections, elected deputies will choose one of the sections created in their electoral district in the order in which they were elected (if the deputies received their mandates in the same round of tallying, preference will be given to the deputy with more first-choice votes; if the number of first choices is equal, preference will be given to the deputy with more second-choice votes, and so forth). The deputies will submit a statement in connection with this to the appropriate local electoral commission, which should assign a section of the electoral district to each deputy within 70 days after the elections and publish this information.

The assignment of the chosen section of the electoral district to the deputy will be confirmed by the appropriate assembly after the elected deputy has taken office.

Article 64. Repeat Elections

If district elections were declared invalid in the second round of the general elections, the appropriate electoral commission will hold repeat elections within two months after the second round.

Candidates for deputy in the repeat elections may be nominated by parties registered with the Central Electoral Commission for participation in the general elections—both autonomously and in a bloc—and by groups of voters according to the procedure established in this law. The registration of the parties of electoral blocs by territorial and local electoral commissions and other election duties will be performed according to the procedure established in this law and within the deadlines set by the Central Electoral Commission.

By a decision of the territorial electoral commission, new precinct electoral commissions may be formed for the repeat elections (these commissions will be formed at

least 25 days before the elections). Balloting will be conducted in the electoral precincts formed for the general elections and on the basis of the voter rolls compiled for these elections.

The holding of repeat elections will be reported in the press no later than two days after the repeat elections have been scheduled.

Article 65. Elections To Replace Resigned or Recalled Deputy

In the event that an assembly of the Georgian Republic invalidates the powers of certain deputies and also in the event of the resignation or recall of an assembly member or the early termination of his powers for other reasons, new elections will be held in the section of the electoral district assigned to the resigned or recalled deputy or member of the assembly within three months after the resignation or recall of the deputy or member of the assembly. The elections will be scheduled by the appropriate local electoral commission at least two months before the elections. All of the requirements of this law will be observed in these elections.

Parties and electoral blocs eligible to nominate candidates for deputy may nominate one candidate each for the vacant section of the electoral district.

If the resigned or recalled deputy was elected by an assembly, new elections will be held in this assembly within a month after the resignation or recall of the deputy. The elections will be scheduled by the appropriate territorial electoral commission at least two weeks before the elections and will be held in conformity with this law.

If a member of a Georgian Republic assembly resigns or is recalled less than 6 months before the end of the term of assembly members, no elections will be held to replace the resigned or recalled deputy.

Georgian Supreme Soviet Resolution on Deputies' Employment

AU0404103891 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian
26 Mar 91 p 1

[Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia on the powers of some members of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, 20 Mar 91, Tbilisi]

[Text] In accordance with the resolution: "On the Employment of Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia" adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia on 30 January 1991, some members of the Supreme Soviet who expressed the desire, according to Article 118 of the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia, not to interrupt their production or service activities [outside the Supreme Soviet] were denied such an exceptional right, on the basis of the same article, and it was made incumbent upon them either to interrupt their production or service activity or resign

from their position as deputy. Notwithstanding this, some deputies have ignored the demands of the law and have not made their choice. Moreover, some deputies are consistently absent from Supreme Soviet sessions and are not, in fact, taking part in its work.

The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia resolves the following:

1. Proceeding from Article 5 of the Law of the Republic of Georgia: "On the status of members of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia" and the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia of 30 January 1991, the deputy powers of Guram Venediktovich Kashakashvili, member of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, are to be considered as discontinued.

2. In accordance with item 3 of Article 6 of the Law of the Republic of Georgia: "On the status of the member of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia," the powers and rights as a deputy, stipulated by part 1 of Article 7, Articles 8-11, part 5 of Article 25 and Article 28 of the same law, of Givi Grigoryevich Gumbardze, member of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, are to be temporarily suspended and his expenses (200 rubles) connected with the carrying out of his powers as deputy not reimbursed.

Z. Gamsakhurdia, chairman,
Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet.

Central Asia

Kazakh Communist Party Party Control Commission Created

91US04234 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 1 Mar 91 p 2

[Kazakh Communist Party decision: "Regulations Governing the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Party Control Commission"]

[Text]

In the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan in Accordance With the Rules

The recent third plenum of the republic Communist Party Central Committee adopted a decision on the creation of a party control commission under the auspices of its Central Committee in accordance with Section 23 of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Rules. The plenum approved the regulations governing the commission.

It was proposed that the obkoms [oblast committees], gorkoms [city committees], and raykoms [rayon committees] form at their plenums, in accordance with Section 16 of the republic Communist Party Rules, the corresponding party control commissions. It is proposed that the most authoritative members of the CPSU capable of

exercising party control objectively, consistently, and scrupulously be recommended for the commissions.

The plenum emphasized that in connection with the new status of the commissions and rights of independence accorded them in adopting decisions on the communists' appeals it is important that they be headed by experienced members of the obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms well versed in methods of party work. Finding an opportunity to establish the offices of full-time chairmen of the gorkom and raykom party control commissions within the limits of the current lists of personnel would be justified.

RegulationS Governing the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Party Control Commission

1. In accordance with the Rules of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan adopted by the 17th congress of the republic party organization, the Central Committee plenum forms the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Party Control Commission from the ranks of members of the Central Committee, the regular commission staff, and other communists. The commission is guided by the Rules of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and these regulations and is accountable to the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee.

The Central Committee plenum confirms the Party Control Commission chairman and its quantitative and personnel composition.

2. The Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Party Control Commission:

- participates in exercising control over the fulfillment in the republic party organizations of the program documents and the Rules of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, the decisions of party congresses and conferences, and decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee;

- contributes to strengthening the unity of the party ranks and party comradeship and the increased authority and independence of the primary party organizations and examines instances of violation in the party organizations and committees of the rights of communists and the minority in the defense of their positions;

- is endowed with the right of independence in the adoption of decisions on the communists' appeals, submits proposals to the party organizations and committees pertaining to instituting party proceedings against party members in breach of statutory requirements and standards of public morals and indulging in instances of bureaucratism, suppression of criticism, abuse of office, and arbitrariness, and studies questions of party rehabilitation;

- at the behest of the leadership of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee examines appeals of the party organizations and the communists to the Central Committee which are within the jurisdiction of the commission and also those which are addressed to it directly and submits on the basis of the results of checks thereof its proposals to the appropriate organizations;

- hears appeals against obkom decisions concerning the expulsion of party members and reprimands. Appeals against the decisions of other lower party bodies are heard after they have passed through the obkom party control commissions;

- cancels party penalties imposed earlier by the commission in accordance with the results of the hearing of appeals, with regard for the opinion of the primary party organizations;

- prepares material for the Central Committee Politburo on the removal from communists of penalties imposed by the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee.

3. The Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Party Control Commission interacts on matters within its jurisdiction with the CPSU Central Control Commission.

4. The Central Committee Party Control Commission adopts decisions on the questions which it examines. In some cases the proposals in respect of an appeal may be submitted for examination by the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Politburo. The adopted decisions are conveyed to the appropriate party committees and primary party organizations. Meetings of the commission are held as necessary, but not less than once every three months. They are formalized by records of the proceedings. The commission has its own letterhead.

5. The Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Party Control Commission performs its work publicly, making extensive use of the mass media. It renders account of its activity annually.

6. The commission renders the party control authorities of the republic party committees methods assistance, analyzes and collates the work which they do, and, if necessary, hears reports from them.

7. To exercise the functions stipulated by the party rules and these regulations members of the Central Committee Party Control Commission may avail themselves of all documents of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

The commission has the right within its authority to request the requisite material from the party committees and communist leaders of state institutions, public organizations, and law enforcement and other bodies.

Far East Cossacks Seek Restoration of Ancient Rights

PM0404150791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[TASS report from the "IZVESTIYA, TASS, POSTFACTUM, REUTERS, UPI" column: "Ussuri Cossacks: Descendants of the Army"]

[Text] The return of traditional Cossack lands and the revival of Cossack land use are some of the main aims of the Maritime Kray department of the Ussuri Cossack Army.

The participants in a Vladivostok assembly, TASS reports, intend to revive by no means forgotten Cossack trades and crafts. The question of granting the organization the status of an independent legal entity with the right to engage in economic activity, to have its own current account, and to be the legal heir of the Ussuri Cossack Army that was abolished after the revolution has been put before the kray soviet executive committee.

Turkmen CP Political Education Organs Now Political Information Centers

91US04254 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA
in Russian 13 Mar 91 p 2

[Report on interview with K. Ballyyev, director of the Turkmen Communist Party republic political information center, by V. Kuksova: "Both Politics and Commerce"; date and place not given]

[Text] The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee House of Political Enlightenment has been transformed into a political information center. The same transformations are to take place in the oblast committee [obkom] houses of political enlightenment. What is the reason for this reorganization? This was the question that TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA correspondent V. Kuksova asked the director of the republic political information center, K. Ballyyev.

[Ballyyev] Under the conditions of the reform of the CPSU and the renewal of the political training system, the role and thrust of the activity of the houses of political enlightenment are changing. The resolutions of the 24th Turkmen Communist Party Congress talk about the advisability of setting up this kind of center.

The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee political information center has been set up on the basis of the House of Political Enlightenment, the courses used to enhance the qualifications of party, soviet, and ideological cadres, and the University of Marxism-Leninism. Here, the numerical strength of staff workers has been cut 30 percent and spending has been significantly reduced, which is very important during the transition to market relations.

[Kuksova] What tasks will the political information center be resolving?

[Ballyyev] The main tasks for the Central Committee political information center have been defined in the provision on the center confirmed by the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee. They include primarily ideological-political work among communists and all workers. Proceeding from these tasks, the avenues of activity have also been defined for the political information center. I would like to draw your attention to some of them. They include the following:

- organizing standing ideological contacts and dialogue between communists and nonparty people through open and interesting debate on the most acute problems worrying people, and arming them with reliable political signposts; shaping a high political standard in communists; instilling an interest in and taste for studying theory, aimed at enhancing the intellectual potential of the party. It is intended to use various ways of doing this—debating clubs, discussion, round-table discussions, meetings, conferences, and so forth.

- information consulting work to provide the party aktiv and workers with complete and reliable information on matters pertaining to public life in the republic and the activity of party and soviet organs and public organizations, and discussion of drafts for the most important decisions affecting people's interests. Regular appearances by party and soviet leaders at all levels and members of elected organs concerned with information work are planned, along with consultations with scholars and experts, lecture cycles, the creation of clubs for business meetings, and so forth;

- work relating to the spiritual and moral enrichment of communists and nonparty people. In close cooperation with institutions in culture and the arts and the creative intelligentsia, the political information center will act to foster satisfaction of diverse spiritual needs, shape elevated moral qualities and esthetic tastes, and organize sensible leisure for the workers. To this end it is planned to hold creative soirees and meetings with writers, scholars, and artists, organize concerts and exhibitions of works of art, and other mass cultural events;

- training and re-training party cadres and the aktiv.

[Kuksova] Kurban Ballyyevich, at the beginning of our conversation you talked about reduced spending. But will this not adversely affect the activity of the center?

[Ballyyev] Not at all. The House of Political Enlightenment was maintained with funds from the party budget. Now, the political information center has been given permission to engage in commercial and entrepreneurial activity. Income from leasing premises (we have a large hall with 1,000 seats and a small one with 150 seats, and several auditoriums) will be a significant source, as will income derived from paid lectures and consultations, cadre training and re-training, and the organization of exhibitions and mass cultural events. We will use the

income to strengthen the material-technical base and acquire literature and visual aids, and, if need be, setting up additional staffs.

In short, the political information center is building its activity on the basis of broad democracy and it corresponds more fully with the new party alignment and its role in society.

Uzbek SSR Passes Law on Public Associations

Text of Law Published

91US0418A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
26 Feb 91 p 2

[Law, under rubric: "Law of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic: Public Associations in Uzbek SSR"]

[Text] Proceeding from the Universal Human Rights Declaration, the USSR Constitution, and the UzSSR Constitution, this law consolidates for citizens as their inalienable right the freedom to create public associations.

Chapter I. General Principles

Article 1. Concept of Public Association

A public association is a voluntary formation that arose as a result of the free expression of the will of citizens who have united for the joint implementation of their rights, freedoms, and legal interests in the sphere of politics, economics, social development, science, culture, ecology, and other areas of life.

The following are recognized as being public associations: political parties; mass movements; trade unions; women's, youth, and children's organizations; organizations of veterans and disabled individuals; scientific, technical, cultural-educational, physical-education and sports organizations, and other voluntary societies; creative unions; organizations based on commonality of nationality or geography; foundations; associations; and other citizens' associations.

The action of this law does not extend to cooperative or other organizations that pursue commercial goals or that promote the extraction of profit (income) by other enterprises or organizations; to religious organizations; agencies of territorial public self-government (soviets and committees of microrayons; makhalla, building, street, block, settlement, and kishlak committees, and others); or agencies of public initiative (people's *druzhinas*, comrade courts, etc.), the procedure for creating which and the activities of which are defined by other legislation.

Article 2. UzSSR Legislation Concerning Public Associations

UzSSR legislation concerning public associations consists of this law, which defines the principles of the lawful

status of the public associations; the Karakalpak ASSR Law Governing Public Associations; and other legislative acts of Uzbek SSR.

Article 3. Goals of Creating Public Associations

Public associations are created for purposes of implementing and defending civil, political, social, and cultural rights and freedoms; developing the citizens' activity rate and initiative, and their participation in the administration of state and public affairs; satisfying people's vocational and avocational interests; developing scientific, technical, and artistic creativity; protecting the public's health, and participating in philanthropic activities; carrying out cultural-educational, physical-training, and sports work; protecting the environment and monuments of history and culture; educating patriotism and the humanities; expanding the ties among republics and among nations, and reinforcing peace and friendship among nations; and carrying out other activities that are not forbidden by law.

It is not permitted to create public associations whose activities are directed at destroying the moral foundations of society or universal humanitarian values, or that have as their purpose the illegal changing of the constitutional system or the violation of the unity of the territory of the USSR, Uzbek SSR, or Karakalpak ASSR; the propagandizing of war, violence, or cruelty; the inciting of social enmity, including racial, national, and religious enmity, that leads to the splitting of society; or the perpetration of other acts that are forbidden by legislation.

It is forbidden to create public militarized associations or armed formations, or parties of a religious nature, or their branches or other structural subdivisions.

It is forbidden for public associations and their agencies to use antidemocratic forceful pressure against the legally and democratically formed agencies of authority and administration, or the persons who are executing the powers legally entrusted to them. Any attempts, under the guise of a democratic decision, to exert pressure on the legally functioning agencies of power and administration or on officials are legally forbidden.

The creation and activities of public associations that infringe upon the health and morality of the public or upon the citizens' rights and legally protected interests are persecuted in conformity with the law.

Article 4. Principles of the Creation and Activities of Public Associations

Public associations are created and operate on the basis of voluntary action, the equal rights of their members (participants), self-government, legality, and glasnost.

All the public associations, when fulfilling the functions stipulated by their charters and other acts, operate within the confines of the UzSSR Constitution, and, in Karakalpak ASSR, also the Karakalpak ASSR Constitution, and other UzSSR laws.

A citizen's participation or nonparticipation in the activities of a public association cannot serve as the justification for limiting its rights or freedoms or for granting it advantages, including the condition of occupying a position in a state organization, or as the justification for failing to execute the duties stipulated by the law.

Labor legislation, as well as the legislation governing the social security and social insurance for workers, extends to workers in the apparatus of public associations.

Article 5. The State and Public Associations

The state guarantees the observance of the rights and legal interests of the public associations and, in conformity with the Constitution, guarantees the conditions for their fulfillment of the tasks stipulated in their charters.

The state renders material and financial support to youth and children's organizations; guarantees the carrying out, with respect to them, of a preferential tax policy; grants children's organizations the right to use the facilities of schools and nonschool institutions, club houses, courts and houses of culture, and sports and other structures free of charge or on preferential terms.

The interference of state agencies or officials in the activities of public associations, like the interference of the public associations in the activities of the state agencies or officials, is not allowed, except for instances when this has been stipulated by law.

The activities of organizations, political parties, and other public associations are carried out basically during the nonworking hours of their members (participants) and at the expense of the funds of those associations.

It is forbidden to have the state finance the activities of political parties or mass public movements that pursue political goals, with the exception of instances of the financing of election campaigns in conformity with the legislation governing the elections of people's deputies, and national voting.

Questions that affect the interests of public associations, in the instances that have been stipulated by legislation, are resolved by state agencies and the economic organizations with the participation of, or the coordination with, the appropriate public associations.

Article 6. Republic-Level and Other Public Associations

The republic-level links of the unionwide and interrepublic public associations include the associations whose activities, in conformity with their tasks as stated in their charters, extend to the entire territory of the republic, and that have their organizations on the territory of Uzbek SSR. Activities of branches and other structural subdivisions of public associations that have been created outside the confines of the republic are not authorized if their activities contradict Article 3 of this law.

The republic-level public associations include associations whose activities, in conformity with the tasks

stipulated in their charters, extend to the entire territory of the republic. A republic-level party or trade union must have as its members no fewer than 3000 persons.

Local public associations include oblast, rayon, city, settlement, and kishlak public associations.

Oblast and Tashkent city public associations include associations whose activities, in conformity with the tasks stipulated in their charters, extend to the entire territory of the oblast, or, in the city of Tashkent, to the entire territory of the city.

Rayon (city) public associations include associations whose activities, in conformity with the tasks stipulated in their charters, extend to the entire territory of the rayon (city).

Settlement and kishlak associations include associations whose activities, in conformity with the tasks stipulated in their charters, extend to the territory of the settlement or kishlak.

In necessary instances, interoblast and interrayon public associations can be created.

Article 7. Unions of Public Associations

Public associations have the right, on voluntary principles, to unite into unions of public associations.

Unions of public associations are formed, operate, and cease their activity in the procedure defined by this law for public associations.

Chapter 2. Formation of Public Associations and the Cessation of Their Activity

Article 8. Creation of Public Associations

Public associations are created on the initiative of no fewer than ten citizens.

The initiators of the creation of a public association convoke a constituent congress (conference) or general meeting, at which a charter (statute, or other founding document) is adopted and the governing agencies are formed.

Article 9. Membership in Public Associations

Citizens of Uzbek SSR are members (participants) of public associations. The charter of a public association other than a political party can stipulate membership in it of citizens of the other union republics, as well as foreign citizens and persons without citizenship.

Citizens of Uzbek SSR who have reached the age of 18 years can be members of the republic's political parties.

A member of one political party cannot be simultaneously a member of another political party.

Collective members—labor collectives at enterprises, institutions, and organizations; and citizens' associations—can take part in the activities of public associations other than political parties and trade unions, in the instances stipulated by their charters.

Article 10. Charter of a Public Association

The charter of a public association must stipulate:

- 1) the name, goals, and tasks of the public association;
- 2) the structure of the public association, and the territory within the confines of which it carries out its activities;
- 3) the conditions and procedure for accepting persons as members of the public association, and for their leaving it, in instances when the association has a fixed membership;
- 4) the rights and obligations of the members (participants) of the public association;
- 5) the competency and procedure for forming the governing agencies of the public association and its organizations, and their terms of office;
- 6) the sources of formation of the funds and other property of the public association and its organizations;
- 7) the location of the governing agency of the public association;
- 8) the procedure for making amendments and additions to the charter of the public association;
- 9) the procedure for ending the activity of the public association.

The charter can also stipulate other principles pertaining to the association's activities.

Article 11. Registration of the Charters of Public Associations

The charters of the republic-level links of unionwide public associations and interpublic public associations operating in Uzbek SSR, as well as the republic-level and interblast public associations, are registered at UzSSR Ministry of Justice.

The procedure for registering a charter of a public association in Karakalpak ASSR is defined by legislation of Karakalpak ASSR.

The charters of public associations whose activities extend to the territory of an oblast, rayon, city, settlement, or kishlak, or to the territory of two or more rayons, cities, settlements, or kishlaks, are registered by the justice administrations of the executive committees of the oblast soviets and Tashkent City Soviet of people's deputies.

In order to register a charter, within one month after the adoption of the charter an application is submitted,

signed by members of the governing agency of the particular public association, with an indication of each person's last name, first name, and patronymic, year of birth, and place of residence. The application must include as appendices the charter, the minutes of the constituent congress (conference) or general meeting that adopted the charter, and the other materials confirming the fulfillment of the requirements of Articles 6 and 8 of this law.

The application for registration of the charter is considered within a period of two months from the date of its receipt.

Amendments and additions to the charters of public association are subject to registration in the same procedure and within the same time periods as the registration of the charters.

The agencies carrying out the registration of the charters of public associations maintain a registry of those associations.

Public associations or their organizations (agencies) carry out their activities only after the registration of their charter in the procedure established by this law and, in conformity with civil legislation, can be recognized as legal entities.

The activities of unionwide, international, or interpublic (interregional) public associations, including mass movements, or their other structural subdivisions, or of republic-level and local public associations (including mass movements) that have not registered their charters at UzSSR Ministry of Justice or its agencies in the outlying areas is not permitted on the territory of Uzbek SSR.

Registration fees in the procedure and amounts defined by the UzSSR Cabinet of Ministers, or, in Karakalpak ASSR, the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, are assessed for the registration of the charter of a public association and any subsequent amendments or additions to it.

Article 12. Refusal to Register the Charter of a Public Association

The registration of the charter of a public association can be refused if the charter of the public association contradicts the principles stated in Articles 3, 4, or 10 of this law, or if the charter of a public association with the same name has been previously registered.

In the event of refusal to register the charter, the applicants are informed of this fact in written form, with an indication of the principles in the legislation that the submitted charter contradicts.

Refusal to register the charter of a public association can be appealed in court and is considered in the procedure stipulated by the UzSSR legislation governing civil proceedings.

Refusal to register the charter of a republic-level link of a unionwide public association, interepublic, or republic-level and interoblast public association can be appealed to UzSSR Supreme Court, and refusal to register the charter of local public associations can be appealed to the appropriate oblast court or Tashkent city court.

Article 13. Symbols of Public Associations

Public associations can have emblems, flags, and banners as their symbols.

The emblems of public associations are approved by their governing agencies in conformity with the charters. The emblems and banners of public associations cannot serve to propagandize the goals indicated in Part 2 of Article 3 of this law.

Flags and banners are subject to state registration in the established procedure.

Article 14. Cessation of the Activity of Public Associations

The cessation of the activity of public associations can be carried out by means of reorganization (fusion, annexation, separation) or liquidation.

The reorganization of public associations is carried out on the basis of decisions made by their congresses (conferences) or general meetings. The registration of the charters of the public associations newly formed after the reorganization is carried out in the procedure established by Article 11 of this law.

The liquidation of a public association is carried out on the basis of a decision made by the congress (conference) or general meeting, or on the grounds and in the procedure stipulated by Article 22 of this law.

The property of a public association that has been liquidated on the basis of a decision made by its congress (conference) or general meeting, is used to achieve the goals stipulated by its charter.

Chapter 3. Rights and Conditions for the Activity of Public Associations

Article 15. Rights of Public Associations

Public associations are equal before the law.

The rights of public associations are firmly established in their charters.

In order to carry out the goals and tasks defined in the charters, platform documents, and other documents, the public associations freely disseminate information concerning their goals and activities, and, in the instance and procedure stipulated by legislation:

- participate in forming the agencies of state authority and administration;
- carry out legislative initiative;

—participate in developing the decisions of the agencies of state authority and administration;

—represent and defend the legal interests of their members (participants) at state and public agencies;

—carry out other powers stipulated by this law and by other legislative acts of Uzbek SSR, and, in Karakalpak ASSR, also by the legislation of Karakalpak ASSR.

Article 16. Political Parties, Mass Public Movements, Trade Unions

Parties, expressing the political will of their members, pose as their basic tasks participation in forming the agencies of state authority and administration, and also participation in the activities of the agencies of authority through their own representatives who have been elected to the soviets of people's deputies.

Parties have platform documents that are published for the general public.

Parties have the right to nominate candidates for election as people's deputies, to carry out pre-election agitation, and to form groups of their adherents as deputies to the appropriate soviets of people's deputies.

Mass public movements pursue political or other goals and do not have a fixed membership.

Military personnel and persons occupying positions in law-enforcement agencies are guided in their official activities by the requirements of laws and are not bound by the decisions made by political parties and mass public movement that pursue political goals.

Trade Unions, in their interrelationships with state agencies, economic organizations, and cooperative and other public associations, represent and defend the interests of the members of the trade unions in production, socio-economic, and cultural areas, in conformity with the trade union legislation that is in effect.

Political parties and trade unions have only a fixed individual membership.

Article 17. Production and Economic Activity of Public Associations

Public associations, in the procedure defined by legislation, carry out production and economic activity and create, only for purposes of fulfilling the tasks stated in their charter, enterprises and cost-accountable organizations that possess the rights of legal entities.

The income from the production and economic activity of public associations cannot be redistributed among the members (participants) of those associations and is used only to fulfill the tasks stated in the charter; it is authorized for the public associations to use their funds for philanthropic purposes, even if that is not indicated in their charters.

The enterprises and organizations created by the public associations make payments to the budget in the procedure and amounts established by law.

Article 18. Property of Public Associations

Public associations and their organizations can own buildings, structures, the housing fund, equipment, stock, property intended for cultural-educational and health-improvement purposes, monetary funds, shares, other securities, and other property necessary for the material support of the activities stipulated by their charters. The property of public associations can also include publishing houses, other enterprises, and philanthropic institutions created at the expense of the funds belonging to those associations, in conformity with the goals indicated in their charters.

The legislative acts of Uzbek SSR, and, in Karakalpak ASSR, also by the legislative acts of Karakalpak ASSR, can establish the types of property which, for reasons of state or public security, or in conformity with international treaties, cannot be owned by public associations.

The monetary funds of public associations are formed from the members' entrance and membership dues, if their payment has been stipulated by the charters; voluntary dues and contributions; proceeds from conducting lectures, exhibitions, sports or other measures, or lotteries in conformity with the charters; income from production, economic, or publishing activities; and other proceeds that are not legally banned.

Political parties and mass public movements that pursue political goals do not have the right to receive financial or other material aid from religious organizations, or from foreign states, organizations, or citizens.

Political parties annually publish their budgets for the general public.

The property of public associations is protected by law.

The rights of unions or associations that are part of them to own, use, and dispose of the property belonging to those unions or the associations that are part of them, are defined by the charters of the unions of public associations.

Article 19. Mass Media and the Publication Activity of Public Associations

Public associations have the right to establish mass media and to carry out publication activity in conformity with the currently effective legislation governing the press and other mass media.

Chapter 4. Monitoring the Activity of Public Associations. Responsibility for Violating the Legislation

Article 20. Monitoring and Overview of the Activity of Public Associations

Financial agencies monitor the sources of the income of public associations, the amounts of funds received by them, and the payment of taxes in conformity with the legislation governing taxes.

Overview of the execution of the laws by public associations is carried out by agencies of the procuracy.

UzSSR Ministry of Justice and its local agencies that have registered the charter of a public association monitor the observance of the principles stated in the charter, relative to the goals in the activity of the public association. The registering agency has the right to require from the governing agency of the public association the submittal of the decisions that have been made, and to send its own representatives for participation in the measures being carried out by the public association, and to obtain explanations from members of the public organization and other citizens with regard to questions linked with the observance of the charter by the public association.

Article 21. Foundations of Responsibility

Violations of the legislation governing public associations entail criminal, administrative, material, or other responsibility in conformity with the legislation that is in effect.

Responsibility for violating the legislation governing public associations is borne by the officials of state and public agencies who are guilty of this, as well as by citizens.

A public association, including one that has not registered its charter, in the events of violation of the legislation governing public associations, bears responsibility in conformity with the law.

In instances when the public association has committed actions that go beyond the confines of the goals and tasks defined by its charter, or that violate the law, the governing agency of that public association can be issued a written warning by the agency that registered the charter of the public association, or by the procurator.

Article 22. Liquidation of a Public Association in Instances of Its Violation of the Requirements of the Charter or the Law

A public association is liquidated on the basis of a court decision in instances when the public association has committed actions stipulated by Parts 2, 3, and 4 of Article 3 of this law.

The court can liquidate a public association for having committed repeatedly, in the course of a year, actions stipulated by Part 4 of Article 21 of this law.

The property of a public association that has been liquidated on the basis of a court decision can be made the property of the state without compensation.

The liquidation of a republic-level link of a unionwide public association, interrepublic, republic-level, or inter-oblast public association is carried out on the basis of a decision made by UzSSR Supreme Court, on recommendation made by the procurator of Uzbek SSR, UzSSR Ministry of Justice, or on recommendations made by other agencies and officials who are empowered by UzSSR legislation to do so. The decision of UzSSR Supreme Soviet to liquidate a public association cannot be appealed.

The liquidation of local public associations is carried out by the appropriate oblast or Tashkent city courts. At such time the court decision can be appealed to UzSSR Supreme Court.

**Chapter 5. International Ties of Public Associations.
International Public Associations. International Treaties**

Article 23. International Ties of Public Associations

Public associations, in conformity with UzSSR legislation and their charters, can join international public (nongovernmental) associations, can maintain direct international contacts and ties, and can conclude the appropriate agreements.

Article 24. International Public Associations

A public organization that has been created in Uzbek SSR is recognized as being an international one if its activity, in conformity with its charter, extends to the territory of Uzbek SSR and one or more foreign states.

If the makeup of an international public association created abroad includes as a collective member a republic-level public association, the latter's charter is also subject to registration in conformity with this law.

A public association that has extended its activity to the territory of a foreign state submits to UzSSR Ministry of Justice its charter with the necessary amendments and additions for re-registration.

A public association that has the goals of reinforcing peace, developing international cooperation, and other types of humanitarian activity, can enjoy the benefits established by legislation.

The principles stated in this law extend to the activity of departments (branches or other structural subdivisions) of public associations of foreign states that have been created on the territory of Uzbek SSR.

Article 25. International Treaties

If an international treaty of the USSR or Uzbek SSR has established rules other than those contained in this law, the rules of the international treaty are applied.

I. Karimov, president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

Tashkent, 15 February 1991.

Supreme Soviet Resolution on Bringing Law Into Force

91US0418B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
26 Feb 91 p 2

[Resolution, under rubric: "UzSSR Supreme Soviet Resolution: Bringing UzSSR Law Entitled: 'Public Associations in Uzbek SSR' Into Force"]

[Text] As a result of the enactment of the UzSSR Law entitled: "Public Associations in Uzbek SSR," the UzSSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To put into force the UzSSR Law entitled: "Public Associations in Uzbek SSR," effective 1 March 1991.

Prior to the putting of the legislation into conformity with the law that was mentioned, the legislative acts in the part that pertains to public association are to be applied, insofar as they do not contradict that law.

2. To establish that the principles stated in the UzSSR Law entitled: "Public Associations in Uzbek SSR" concerning the registration of charters (statutes, and other founding documents) of the public associations extend to the charters of public associations that were created prior to the date when this law went into effect. The charters of those public associations are to be registered before 1 March 1992; at such time, the rule stated in Part 4 of Article 11 concerning the submittal of the charter for registration within one month after its enactment is not applied.

The peculiarities in regulating the principles concerning the registration of the charters of trade unions and the monitoring of their activity, as contained in Articles 11, 20, and 22 of the UzSSR Law entitled: "Public Associations in Uzbek SSR," are stipulated by the legislation governing trade unions.

3. To recommend that the Supreme Soviet of Karakalpak ASSR:

—put the legislation of Karakalpak ASSR into conformity with the UzSSR Law entitled: "Public Associations in Uzbek SSR."

4. The Cabinet of Ministers, under the President of Uzbek SSR, is to:

—publish and print in the press the rules for considering, in conformity with UzSSR Law entitled: "Public Associations in Uzbek SSR," applications for registering the charters of the republic-level links of unionwide public associations, and of interrepublic, republic-level, and local public associations; to define the procedure for charging fees, and the size of those fees, for registering the charters of public associations;

—resolve, prior to 1 March 1991, the questions linked with the creation at UzSSR Ministry of Justice of a special service for registering the charters of public associations and for monitoring the observance of their charters, and with the providing of personnel, material-financial, and other support for the activities of that service;

—to put the decisions of the UzSSR government into conformity with this law.

M. Ibragimov, chairman of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet.

Tashkent, 15 February 1991.

Latvian Statistics Committee Figures on Ethnic Population

*LD0204122191 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT
2 Apr 91*

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaitsev]

[Text] Riga, April 2 (TASS)—The number of people who moved to Latvia for permanent residence in 1990 fell by 20 percent, as compared to that in 1989, according to the republican statistics committee.

Last year, 15,000 people settled in Latvia, and over 20,000 people emigrated to other Soviet republics.

Analyses of changes in Latvia's ethnic structure made by the state statistics committee show that 2,606 Russians, 1,285 Ukrainians and 2,820 Jews left the republic in 1990, while 574 ethnic Latvians returned to the homeland.

According to the latest census in the republic, ethnic Latvians account for 52 per cent of its population.

The majority of republican deputies believe that the large migration of people hampers the formation of a stable ethnic structure in Latvia.

The Latvian Parliament decided to set up an immigration department under the government by April 15 to oversee migration processes in the republic.

The radical people's front of Latvia has set up a fund to help repatriates. According to its estimates, "900,000 foreign immigrants living in Latvia make up a destructive force that corrupts the traditions and morals of the people and adds to the ethnic death of Latvians".

The newly-adopted Latvian law on the free development of national and ethnic groups in Latvia and their right to cultural autonomy bans any ethnic discrimination or national superiority.

Estonian Government Discusses Border Guards

*LD0904121291 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian
1700 GMT 8 Apr 91*

[Report by correspondent Ain Saarna]

[Excerpt] The government session today appointed Andrus Oovel as director general of the State Border Guard Department. Until now he was the head of the Estonian KOkukaitse [Home Defense] general staff. According to Andrus Oovel, there are over 300 men at the economic border, predominantly having had special training at Remniku training center first. The training of

border guards continues and the new director general is convinced that soon the border will indeed be firmly closed. What is causing concern at the border, however, is what happens next to the goods which have been caught being smuggled out. Until now their fate was decided at people's courts; they, however, have either not known how to or not wanted to act with sufficient resoluteness. The government found today that the right to confiscate goods and set fines should be transferred to the authority of the customs service. Proposals to this effect will be made to the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

Latvia Seeks Alternative Publishing Means

91UN1140A Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 8 Mar 91 p 3

[Statements by Kazimir Dundurs, director of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Publishing House, recorded by N. Sevidova; date not given: "Under a New Roof"]

[Text] **Kazimir Dundurs on the creation of alternative printing facilities in the republic.**

What Was

Prior to this January we printed 34 newspapers and as many journals. These were both official and commercial publications, irrespective of political focus. Annual profits of our publishing house amounted to eight to nine million rubles [R], and in 1989 to R10 million even.

Following its departure from the Press House, the Latvian Newspaper and Journal Publishing House was forced to wind down its production activity. Inasmuch as we were expelled with the aid of submachine guns, we bear no responsibility for the fulfillment of contracts. This is now the concern of the new administration.

What Is

The Press House is now producing 15-17 percent of its former output and sustaining only losses. In six weeks alone the publishing house and editorial office work force and subscribers have incurred losses totaling R6.2 million. In addition, complex equipment is being broken inasmuch as professionals have quit the printing works.

As of today, only some of the employees of the publishing house have found work, the rest are living on assistance. It will be paid on the basis of average earnings for a further three months, at least, from resources allocated by the government and the solidarity fund, which has received more than a million rubles in donations from the citizens.

Of course, there is an opportunity to earn more in the Press House. We realize that a person could be in a difficult material situation and wishes to return. We will call no one a traitor; this choice is a matter for the conscience of each individual. But the vast majority of the work force has no intention of returning as yet. Although it is difficult for everyone psychologically, people understand the entire complexity of the situation—one-third of our personnel will be without work for approximately a year. Nonetheless, people have agreed to be patient for a while and retrain for a period, but ultimately in order to work in an independent publishing house. We are working intensively to create such.

What Will Be

Premises for alternative publishing facilities have already been found. These are the main block and

administrative building of the auto-repair plant which was erected for the needs of the Riga Metro. As you know, the plans for laying the Metro are meanwhile frozen, and the government has turned over 3,600 square meters of production space to our account. The buildings are unadapted, but this can be rectified. Strong business structures which are prepared to participate on a several basis in the financing of the new printing works have been found. A new managerial conglomerate will be formed, evidently. This will be a joint venture, possibly—the concept is being developed currently.

Interior work will be completed, the concrete floors are now being poured and the first line of newspaper equipment could be installed in March. The latter has already been purchased for hard currency by the shareholder organizations. On 15-16 March we will telex specialists in Sweden who, as contracted, will embark on installation, and by the end of the month the line will be fully ready for operation.

Immediate Prospects

This line will provide for three print runs of all the official papers which have left the Press House. Readers will receive fresh newspapers at least twice a week. And in September we hope to launch journal equipment also. Actual negotiations with the West on the purchase of them are already under way. Our goal is complete economic independence of the political ambitions and pressure of anyone at all.

Difficulties

We have been prevented from obtaining printer's ink. The manufacturing plant in the Moscow area belongs to the CPSU. And as soon as they hear that Dundurs is on the line, they put down the receiver.

All the material we had in reserve has been left behind in the Press House, and its present management will hear nothing about sharing with us. Anticipating interruptions in supplies of paper, last year we cut back as of May on the publication of periodicals. We had managed in this way by the start of 1991 to have saved 1,000 tons of paper, which also was left behind in warehouses of the Press House. It all went on the production of party publications.

My team at the present time is 15 persons, and they have as yet taken refuge in the Liyesma Publishing House. I myself temporarily occupy an office in the Council of Ministers, from where I coordinate all operations. This is incredibly difficult if it is considered that we have been left without any records—we were not allowed to remove them from the safes of the Press House.

Concerning the Property Dispute

The Communist Party appealed to the USSR State Arbitration Commission for confirmation of its right to own the Press House. But the USSR state arbitrator

rejected this case inasmuch as he considers it not economic but purely political and within the jurisdiction, therefore, of the republic Supreme Soviet. Only the USSR Supreme Soviet is competent to reverse the ruling of the republic's highest legislative authority, which has declared the Press House the property of Latvia. Or the president of the USSR may do so by edict.

I'm absolutely convinced that there are no legal grounds for him to reverse this ruling. And if the Press House belongs to the Communist Party *de facto*, it belongs *de jure* to the Latvian Newspaper and Journal Publishing House joint-stock company. We are not about to take our property by force. Let there be in parallel at government and the CPSU leadership level further negotiations on the future of the Press House, but we do not intend, as I have already said, to stand idly by all this time. After all, this conflict could go on for a long time.

Possibilities of Compromise

What is the reason for so hard-line a position on the part of the Communist Party, which is unhappy with the share of the stock of the publishing house it has been allocated and which is resorting to armed force even to retain for itself all 100 percent of the profits? The Latvian Press House is for it a first and very dangerous precedent. If throughout the country the people were to demand that party property, which was created by their labor, be shared with them, the financial power of the CPSU would be undermined. And, consequently, its power would be shaken also. I therefore place no special hopes in the party leadership agreeing to a compromise in this conflict. Only complete collapse in the economy of the Press House will force it to take this step, perhaps. This collapse is inevitable, and we intend to bring an action against the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee for restitution of the losses inflicted on Latvia.

END OF

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DATE FILMED

20 May 1991